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THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND

FROM THE

ACCESSION

OF THE

HOUSE OF STUART

TO THAT OF

MARY.

WITH

APPENDIXES OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

BY JOHN PINKERTON.

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THE

THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK X.

BEING

THE FIRST PART OF THE REIGN OF JAMES IV.

Character of James IV—Sir Andrew Wood—parliament—inſurrection—Home and Angus—parliament—privy council—naval affairs—parliaments—fiſhery—Scotiſh court—Perkin Warbeck—war with Henry VII—truce—affair at Norham—univerſity of Aberdeen—order of St. Andrew—magnificence of James.

AT length a reign ariſes, undiſturbed by the diſorders of a minority; and forming a ſtrong contraſt to the preceding in ſpirit, and ability. The young monarch was ſoon to develope a character brightened with many illuſtrious qualities, and darkened with few ſhades. His ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, by which the realm was maintained in a tranquillity long unknown, his uniform concord with his nobles, his magnificence, his generoſity, his patronage of uſeful arts and ſciences, particularly navigation, which had been ſtrangely 1483

 neglected

1488 neglected by the Scotiſh monarchs, and even his ſpirit of chivalry, were to render his reign popular and glorious. Nor has it been unjuſtly aſſerted that the period of his domination was that of the greateſt wealth, and power, of Scotland, while a ſeparate kingdom. Yet ſome of his qualities were rather ſpecious than ſolid, and rather belonged to chivalrous romance than to real life: in the high regal duties of a politician, and of a general, he was extremely defective; his natural impetuoſity predominating alike in his ſmaller purſuits, and in his moſt important affairs. The avarice of the preceding reign he contraſted by a profuſion, which ſecured the attachment of the peers at the expence of the people. That ſuperſtitious devotion, which, with a few exceptions, was inherent in his family from its firſt elevation, till its final deſcent from the throne, was in the fourth James much increaſed by his remorſe for the death of his father; and the maſs formed one of his chief daily offices. The reſources of his magnificence were not exempt from a charge of extortion: but his gentleneſs, and affability, won all hearts, and ſtifled all murmurs. Juſt in his decrees, the ſeverity of puniſhment was ſoftened by his viſible reluctance to chaſtiſe. To admonition, or even reproach, his ear was open; and his ſenſe of an innocent conſcience ſuch that he liſtened without the ſmalleſt emotion. By a neglected education he was ignorant of letters; but his mind was acute; he excelled in muſic, in horſemanſhip, and other exerciſes; and a firm conſtitution enabled him to ſupport every fatigue. His perſon was of the middle ſize, and elegant; his countenance majeſtic [1].

The

[1] Compare Lindſay, 159, 160; Leſley 330; Buch. XIII, 42. In the new edition of Leland's Collectanea, Vol. IV, p. 258, ſeq. may be found minute anecdotes of his manners, &c. in 1503. One paſſage mentions that "his beard was

The fate of James III being unknown to the conſpiring lords, they withdrew their forces to Linlithgow, till certain information ſhould be obtained. Tidings arrived that Sir Andrew Wood's two ſhips, ſailing up and down the Forth, received in their boats ſeveral wounded men, among whom it was ſuſpected that the king might have found his ſafety. The lords upon this advanced to Leith, and ſent meſſengers to Wood, to enquire if James was aboard either of his veſſels: the commander denied that he was; but the lords, unſatisfied, inſiſted that he ſhould appear before their council, to which he conſented upon condition that the lords Seton and Fleming ſhould be remitted, as pledges for his ſafe return. Upon his appearance, he denied any knowledge concerning the king, and boldly reproached the peers for their treaſon; whoſe vengeance was only repreſſed by the conſideration of their pledges[2]. Seton and Fleming having returned, upon Wood's deliverance, it was *reſolved* to puniſh that brave officer for his inſulting behaviour; but the captains and mariners of Leith declined the hazardous ſervice, and informed the council that no ten ſhips of Scotland would dare to aſſault Wood's two veſſels, ſuch was his ſtrength in men and artillery, and ſuch his maritime and military ſkill[3]. Amid the ſignal fortuitous advantages of the

1488 June

was ſomewhat long;" but beards were not then worn, and the meaning is ſuch as would apply in our times, that he had neglected to ſhave, or to cut it cloſe with ſcizzars, as, by the ſame account, was done on his wedding day.

[2] Lindſay, 145—147. Buchan. XIII, 1. The former writer narrates the ſtory with his uſual circumſtantial ſimplicity. The names of Wood's two veſſels were, the Flower and the Yellow Carvel, (*carvel* a galley, a ſhip.) The paſſage in which James miſtakes Wood for his father is pathetic, but can have no claim to truth, James being ſixteen years of age, and certainly knowing his father perfectly. No hint of previous eſtrangement occurs: on the contrary the prince reſided at Stirling, the choſen abode of his father.

[3] Lindſay, 147, who on this occaſion mentions BARTON, a name famous in the naval annals of Scotland. Buch. XIII, 1.

1488 reign of James III may be placed the firſt minute appearance of a warlike fleet in Scotland: and the warm loyalty of Wood ſeems to indicate that this eſtabliſhment was indebted to royal patronage.

A ſhort ſpace of time certified the unhappy death of the late
24 June ſovereign. The ſolemn inauguration of James IV was no ſooner celebrated at Scone, than a revocation was publiſhed of all lands, dignities, and offices, granted by his father, ſince the ſecond day of February laſt; for the aſſigned reaſon that ſuch gifts had been beſtowed in ſupport of a council who oppoſed the public good [4]. The young monarch then proceeded to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Edinburgh, which had been garriſoned by the late king: and to that of Stirling a new governor was appointed [5]. But neither the cares, nor the pleaſures of royalty could ſave his mind from the keeneſt remorſe, when he conſidered his conſtrained ſhare in the fate of his father. Reſiding for ſome time at Stirling the *prieſts* of the royal chapel deplored, in his preſence, and even in their prayers, the death of their founder; and the ſolemnity of religion increaſed the mental gloom of his ſon; who reſolved, with amiable ſuperſtition, to wear conſtantly in penance an iron girdle, the weight of which he increaſed with his years. The Roman pontiff ſpared the youth and innocence of James; but darted the thunders of the Vatican at the rebellious barons, whoſe arms had been pointed againſt their ſovereign [6].

6 Oct. Of the parliament, which aſſembled at Edinburgh this year, the moſt remarkable act is that intituled, The Propoſition of

[4] This revocation is mentioned in the Acts of Oct. this year, f. 83, c. 17.

[5] Lindſay, 148. Buch. XIII, 2.

[6] Lindſay, ib. Buch. XIII, 9. Leſley, 330. The popular opinion, unconverſant in nice diſtinctions, was that James had ſlain his father. Comines, V, 18. Leland Coll. IV, App. Whitſuntide 1488.

the

the debate of the field of Stirling. By this ſtatute it is de- 1488
clared that the late king's want of fidelity, in the obſervance
of certain articles, affirmed to the peers by his own ſubſcrip-
tion; his confidence in perverſe councils; and his partiality to
the Engliſh; are to be eſteemed the efficient cauſes of his fate:
and that his ſon, and the conſpiring peers, were innocent of any
blood ſhed in that civil conflict [7]. It is unneceſſary to enter
into the warm political diſputes, which have originated from
this inſtitute of ſucceſsful rebellion, which partakes ſo little of
fundamental law, and ſo much of temporary circumſtances.
At preſent this ariſtocratic deed will be ſufficiently underſtood
to infer no advantage to public freedom. But in conſequence
of this parliamentary declaration, of the royal favour to the
nobles during this reign, and of their increaſing power under
the ſucceeding minority; principles of government, far indeed
from new, but unknown for many centuries, began to pre-
vail in Scotland. Enlightened enough to perceive the defects,
incidental to monarchical government, but not to deſcry its

[7] Acts, f. v. 82. The chief managers of this parliament, and ſome of its proceedings, may be traced in Carmichael's Tracts, 76—78. Argyle continues chancellor, Hales is maſter of the houſhold, Lyle juſticiary, Home chamberlain, Knowls of Torphichen treaſurer. The impriſonment of Angus by the late king, p. 77, ſeems unknown. On the 15th Oct. p. 78, Patrick Hepburn lord Hales was created earl of Bothwell. Titles were now becoming vague, the lords Lyle, Carlyle, &c. being ſo ſtyled from their names: but Bothwell had only the advantage of being a title already uſed. The barony had been forfeited by Douglas, 1455; and was before 1528 to return to Angus.

From Scotſtarvet's Calendars it appears that Largo was confirmed to Wood, 27 July 1488: that Hales or Bothwell was created "great Admiral of Scotland for life," in the ſame month: on the 10th Sept. an annuity of 300 marks was granted to James Douglas knight, (the degraded earl?) in Oct. the cuſtody of Dunbarton caſtle, formerly held by Evandale, was given to Lennox and his ſon; as that of Stirling was, in the enſuing January, aſſigned to James Shaw of Sauchy, and John Shaw of Alweth his ſon. John Ellem was forfeited for defending Dunbar againſt James III.

laſting

1488 laſting advantages; and at the ſame time ſo unſkilled as to prefer many tyrants to one, and to confound the nation with the nobles, the intereſts of a million and a half of people with thoſe of fifty chiefs; the Scotiſh hiſtorians, Mair, Boyce, Buchanan, were to declaim againſt monarchy; and, under the name of the popular power, to ſupport that of the ariſtocracy. As they have indicated no new organ, by which the national will was to be declared; and no reform in parliament, a body guided by the king, or by the nobles; it is evident that their views were either theoretical effervescences, caught from the claſſical writers, or tended ſolely to increaſe the ariſtocratic preeminence.

This parliament alſo decreed that an embaſſy ſhould be ſent to France, Bretagne, Spain, and other countries, to provide a bride for the king[8]. England being omitted, it is evident that the new reign had, as not unuſual, reverſed the political maxims of the former. The embaſſadors were likewiſe empowered to renew the league between France and Scotland: but this embaſſy was not effected. Other ſtatutes appear concerning the late civil commotions: all juſtices, ſheriffs, ſtewards, and other officers who had joined the late king, were, if hereditary, ſuſpended for three years; if not, utterly incapacitated: churchmen taken in arms were to be delivered to their ordinary, for legal puniſhment: thoſe heirs who had been diſinherited by their loyal fathers, on account of their attachment to the prince, were reſtored to their claim: as a ſmall act of grace, all goods, taken ſince the battle near Stirling, from

[8] Acts, f. 79. Of the 26th Dec. 1489, appears a grant to Elphinſton biſhop of Aberdeen, for his ſervices in his embaſſy to France, *England*, Burgundy, Auſtria. Scotſt. Cal. The main object ſeems to have been, the vindication of James from the apparent murder of his father. The act of indemnity bears that it was to be ſhewn to foreign courts.

burgeſſes,

burgeſſes, merchants and unlanded men, though the late king's partizans, are ordered to be reſtored; together with perſonal freedom, and compenſation. Such ordinances rather beſpeak the influence of a party, than the equity of a monarch; while an act of general indemnity would have been a meaſure of juſtice and prudence. Decrees of a wider import order that foreign veſſels ſhall only trade with the free burghs of the realm, and not purchaſe fiſh, nor enter into any commerce, at the iſle of Leuis, or other diſtant places. The uſual regulations and privileges of the church are to be obſerved. It is ordained that a new coinage of gold and ſilver be iſſued; and that bullion be imported. The caſtle of Dunbar is ordered to be demoliſhed; and the cuſtody of that of Edinburgh is committed to lord Hales, with the care of the king's brother, James duke of Roſs. The king is adviſed to travel through his dominions, for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the lords of the juſticiary are ordered to attend him, as he or his council ſhall appoint. For the more effectual ſecurity of public order, certain noblemen and gentlemen are empowered to puniſh theft, ſpoil, and other outrages, committed within the limits of their own domains, and the lands adjacent, till the king ſhall attain the age of twenty one years. It is remarkable that, in the ſpecification of territory, the northern counties of Roſs, Sutherland, and Caithneſs, are omitted; with the iſlands Hebudes, and the Orkneys; a proof, among many, of the ſlow progreſs of public juriſdiction in Scotland [9]. 1488

In a ſeſſion of parliament, held at Edinburgh, nothing memorable was tranſacted, except the erection of the ſee of 1489 21 Jan.

[9] Acts, f. 79—84. This curious record of the partition of juſtice may be found in our common hiſtories, and illuſtrates the ſtate of parties, and the power of the ariſtocracy.

Glaſgow

1489 Glaſgow into an archbiſhopric [1]. A forfeiture iſſued againſt John earl of Lennox, lord Darnley, and Matthew Stuart his ſon, and Robert lord Lyle, for concerting meaſures againſt
6 April the adminiſtration, was formally reſcinded [2]. But this lenity was ſoon diſcovered to be premature.

Many of the nobles ſtill nouriſhed the memory of their loyalty to James III, and were much diſſatisfied with the preſent meaſures. They affected to regard the king as a captive in the hands of his father's murderers; and to execrate the fortunate rebels, who, not content with eſcaping public vengeance themſelves, dared to hurl it againſt the loyal and the good; and being the authors of injury, never could pardon. Alexander lord Forbes diſplayed in Aberdeen, and other northern towns and regions, the bloody ſhirt of the murdered ſovereign, ſuſpended from a ſpear; and loudly ſummoned all good ſubjects to revenge. This ſpectacle, like the robe of Cæſar, arouſed more than any power of eloquence: and the flame began to ſpread to a great extent, and violence, when it was ſuddenly extinguiſhed. For the diſcontented nobles, (among whom were ſome who had engaged in the prince's cauſe, but had now reaſons of enmity againſt his counſellors,) having fixed, and communicated, their deſigns, the earl of Lennox led a conſiderable force towards the north, to join their ſtandard. Finding it impracticable to march by the bridge of Stirling, he turned to the weſt, intending to paſs the Forth by a ford; and encamped at a ſpot called Tilly-moſs. One of his followers, named Macalpin, deſerted; and gave intelligence to lord Drummond, then apparently with the

[1] Carm. 75.

[2] Ibid. and 79. Darnley claimed the title of Lennox in 1483, in right of his grandmother, daughter of Duncan earl of Lennox; James IV, in the beginning of his reign, granted the title. Stew. Gen. 153.

court

court at Stirling, that the camp of Lennox was void of watch 1489
or military diſcipline, and expoſed to every danger of ſecurity. Drummond, aſſembling a few attendants of the court, and volunteers, haſtily advanced, and attacked the ſleep of Lennox and his people. Confuſion, death, flight, terminated the idle expedition. The captives were taken with indifference, and diſmiſſed with contempt; except a few of tumultuous ſpirit, who were diſtinguiſhed by puniſhment. The fate of Lennox is unmentioned in our annals, and ſtatutes; but he was apparently captured and pardoned. This inſurrection was the more remarkable, as Lennox had received his title, and the command of Dunbarton caſtle, from the young monarch. Lord Lyle, another favourer of the prince againſt his father, and Matthew Stuart, apparently the heir of Lennox, defended Dunbarton caſtle againſt the government; but that fortreſs was taken, and the ſucceeding parliament granted a remiſſion to the captives [3].

Such is the moſt authentic account of this commotion, which can be drawn from our hiſtories; many paſſages of which are ſtill enveloped in clouds of obſcurity.

Home was now appointed warden of the eaſtern marches; 26 Aug.
and he had, in the preceding year, been conſtituted great chamberlain of Scotland during his life. He was alſo no-

[3] Leſley, 330, dates the inſurrection of Lennox in 1488; Buchanan's chronology, XIII, 4, 5, inclines to 1489. The latter epoch ſeems confirmed by a letter of James IV to Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, publiſhed in Niſbet's Heraldry, II, 89, ſeq. dated 26 Sept. *regni* 2,=1489. The king deſires him to keep his ſtrong holds ſtrictly, for the royal behoof, as the earl Marſhal, Alexander Maſter of Huntley, Alexander lord Forbes, &c. are forming treaſonable leagues at Dunbarton caſtle. The renewed forfeiture of Lennox, his ſon, and Lyle, in the parliament of Feb. 1490, (Carm. 79); and the remiſſion to ſuch of their adherents as held Dunbarton caſtle, in the ſame parliament, (Acts, f. 90,) concur in juſtifying the date here aſſigned.

1489 minated governor to the king, with the cuſtody of Stirling caſtle; and the tuition for nine years of the earl of Mar, the youngeſt brother of James. He was in fact the prime miniſter, during the greater part of this reign, and in conſtant favour with his ſovereign: the continuance of his power indicating much art, or much moderation[4]. Angus more ambitious, like a Douglas, of independent dignity, than of courtly ſplendor, was contented with his former office, the wardenſhip of the weſtern marches, and the title of privy counſellor; but upon the death of Argyle, in 1493, he was appointed chancellor[5]. Nor was the favour of James confined to thoſe peers who had aſſerted his cauſe; he ſoon learned that fidelity to his father was a pledge of ſimilar attachment to himſelf, and extended his benignity to the whole ariſtocracy, a conduct productive of internal concord, and of the warmeſt ſupport from his nobles, then the leaders of the people; ſo that his reign was to become remarkable for a ſtrong comparative degree of ſplendor, opulence, and popularity[6].

1490 Several important ſtatutes were iſſued by the parliament[7].
15 Feb. The king, and his council, were empowered to eſtabliſh univerſal concord among the ſubjects; and to puniſh thoſe who rejected an equitable amity. The payment of the tax, ordered

[4] Crawf. Off. 323 from the archives. Scotſtarvet, at the end of the year 1489, mentions a grant to Alexander Home great chamberlain, *oy* (grandſon) and apparent heir to Alexander lord Home. In April 1490 the lands of Mar and Garioch were aſſigned to Home, for the maintenance and education of Mar the king's brother. Ibid.

[5] Crawf. Off. 54, 55, from the records.

[6] Of this year the following curious grants occur in Scotſtarvet's Calendars. Orkney and *Yetland* are let to Bothwell, and the prior of St. Andrews, for 13 years at 550 marks a year, 29 May: a leaſe to lord Sinclair, *of the ſame tenor*, 28 May. Bute is leaſed to lord Montgomery for 141*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

[7] Acts, f. 84—90.

by

by the laſt parliament, to defray the expences of the embaſſy, 1490
is enforced; and it is declared that the king's remiſſion of any perſon's ſhare is void, as the king could not diſcharge a tax granted by the eſtates for an appointed purpoſe: an act leading to valuable conſequences. A new revocation appears of all grants, and gifts, made of the royal revenue, ſince the coronation of James. Auditors were appointed to inſpect the accompts of the treaſurer, and other officers employed in the management of the crown-rents both in this, and the preceding reign. To collect the king's property, or the proceeds of the royal domains, certain noblemen and gentlemen are nominated for each county; and there is reaſon to infer, from the enumeration, that this revenue was large, but we unhappily find no eſtimates: it appears that there were now regal lands of more or leſs extent, in every region of Scotland, even to the Orkneys; except Sutherland, Caithneſs, the Hebudes, and the oppoſite coaſt from Knapdale northwards. The earls of Sutherland, and of Caithneſs, remote from the court, appear never to have engaged in faction; while the juſt forfeiture of the Hebudes had not been carried into complete effect from the want of a fleet, and of the means of ſupporting garriſons, neceſſary to maintain the poſſeſſion of a remote diſtrict, and the obedience of a ſavage people, to whom the Scotiſh juriſdiction was unknown [8].

This parliament alſo proceeded to appoint proper perſons, as a ſecret council to the king; among whom the earl of Craw-

[8] In 1475 John lord of the Iſles was forfeited: in 1476 he was reſtored, on yielding Roſs, &c. to the crown. In Auguſt 1481 a charter to him for his ſervices appears: Scotſt. Cal. Yet about 1490 he was forfeited, ſays Douglas, (Peerage 357 ſeq.) as appears from many charters between 1490 and 1498. But in Scotſtarvet's Calendars the firſt mention of his forfeiture occurs in a charter of Aug. 1493.

1490 ford, whoſe title of duke of Montroſe, had been recently confirmed for his life, appears to have been the ſole follower of the late monarch, who gained admiſſion: and this peer was indeed the chief loyaliſt who finally adhered to James III; the influence of the others being inconſiderable. No royal act was to be regarded as authentic, except it were ſubſcribed by at leaſt ſix of the ſecret council; and the chancellor's conſent was indiſpenſable.

Embaſſies of alliance were ordered to France, Spain, and Denmark. The truce, made with England, was enforced by regulations for the holding of ſolemn march-days, in order to ſettle differences, ſo long as the Engliſh teſtified the like deſire. Many other ſtatutes of public utility were paſſed, which reflect no ſmall praiſe on the attention of the new government to the national advantage.

Amid the imperfections, and diſcordance, of the original accounts, it is difficult to adjuſt, with chronological preciſion, two events in the commencement of this reign; the trial of David Lindſay of the Byres; and the maritime battles of Sir Andrew Wood with the Engliſh. The partialities of Lindſay the hiſtorian appear to have amplified theſe incidents; while his circumſtantial narration confirms their general truth. The trial he aſcribes to a parliament, held on the tenth of May 1489, while no record exiſts of any national council at that epoch: and he mentions that twenty eight lords, and as many great barons, were then ſummoned to anſwer for their adherence to James III; a circumſtance palpably romantic. It would ſeem that David Lindſay had engaged in the confederacy with Forbes and Lennox; and that he was tried this year, but acquitted by an imperfection in the indictment. For the particulars, which are detailed with native ſimplicity, the original work mentioned may

may be conſulted; as their minuteneſs, connected with no great event, is unfit for hiſtorical narration [9]. 1490

It has already been obſerved that, in the year 1486, a truce of three years had been concluded with England and the indenture of the heralds, in 1487, for a laſting peace, being annulled by the ſubſequent events, the expiration of the truce muſt be aſſigned to the month of July 1489: nor does any further treaty appear till December 1491; though the Scotiſh act of parliament above adduced, implies that a truce exiſted in February 1490 [1]. In ſuch uncertainty it has appeared preferable to abide by the poſitive date aſſigned by Buchanan, who places the chief action of Wood on the tenth of Auguſt, fourteen hundred and ninety [2]. The ſilence of the Engliſh annaliſts,

[9] Lindſay, 150—155. The parliament of Jan. 1489 might have formed a ſeſſion of juſtice in May: and it certainly deprived David Lindſay, earl of Crawford, of two lordſhips, granted to him by James III. Carm. 75. Some ſuch ſevere proceedings may have ſtimulated the rebellion of 1489, which Crawford not joining, he was rewarded by the recognizance of his title of duke of Montroſe.

[1] Rymer, XII, 434, gives a permiſſion by Henry to Knowles prior of St. John, to trade with one ſhip, for one year, if the truce with Scotland laſt ſo long: 21 Dec. 1490. In 1490 alſo appear, among his unprinted papers N° 4617, art. 78, 23 March, a warrant to pay the expences of the Scotiſh envoys, 23*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* and an order for the Scots wandering in the northern counties to return.

[2] Lindſay, 155—159 dates both the actions in 1489. Buchanan, XIII, 2, 3, aſcribes the firſt to 1488, and XIII, 6, the ſecond to 1490. This diſcrepance of the accounts, yet their general ſimilarity, and the fixed epoch aſſigned by the latter hiſtorian, concur to evince the veracity of the facts.

Of the 14th May 1491 appears a charter, wherein James, conſidering the damage done to his ſubjects at ſea by the Engliſh and Dutch, grants the iſle of Inchgarvey, between the Queen's ferries, to John Dundas of Dundas, to build a *fortalice* thereon; with the conſtabulary thereof, and the duties on ſhips paſſing. Scotſt. Cal. But Dundas neglected the affair; and it was not till about 1510, as will afterwards be ſeen, that James erected the fort.

concerning

1490 concerning theſe maritime affairs, will excite little heſitation with thoſe who know the lame and meagre information, preſented by the original hiſtorians of England at this period.

The barrenneſs of naval tranſactions in the Scotiſh hiſtory renders the deeds of Wood not a little ſingular, and intereſting; for which reaſon the minute relation of Lindſay ſhall be followed. Five Engliſh veſſels having entered the Forth, deſpoiled ſome mercantile ſhips belonging to Scotland, and her allies. James and his council, irritated by the indignity, eagerly deſired revenge, but could not prevail upon any maſters of veſſels to proceed againſt the enemy, till they applied to Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, whom they incited by large offers of men and artillery, of royal favours and rewards. Being furniſhed with an ample proviſion of men, cannon, and arms, Wood proceeded with his two ſhips, the Flower, and the Yellow Carvel, againſt the Engliſh, who were alſo not deficient in artillery; and finding them oppoſite to Dunbar, an obſtinate and ſanguinary conflict enſued. Wood's extreme courage, and naval ſkill, at length procured the victory: the five Engliſh veſſels were taken, and brought to Leith; the commander preſented to the king and council. The ſpirit and conduct of Wood were recompenſed by honourable rewards, by the favour of James and the nobles, and by the loud voice of public fame.

Henry VII, concerned at the unuſual diſgrace of the Engliſh flag, inflicted by a power unknown in the annals of the ſea, offered a large yearly ſum to any commander who ſhould capture Wood. But the ſkill, valour, and fortune of the Scotiſh leader were now ſo celebrated, that fear repreſſed avarice. At length Stephen Bull, an Engliſh officer, engaged to ſeize Wood dead or alive; and was provided with three ſtout ſhips completely equipped for war. Bull paſſing to the Forth, anchored behind

behind the iſle of May; where he awaited the return of Wood, 1490
who had eſcorted ſome merchant veſſels to Flanders, expecting
that peace was eſtabliſhed. The Engliſh captain ſeized ſome
fiſhing boats, and retained the mariners, that by their informa-
tion he might not miſtake his object. On a ſummer-morn, 10 Aug.
a little after dawn, one of the Engliſh ſhip-maſters deſcried
two veſſels coming under ſail, by St. Ebbs Head: the priſoners
were ordered to the tops, that they might declare whether
theſe veſſels were Wood's, or not; and, upon their heſitation,
freedom being offered in caſe this was the expected prey, they
announced the Scotiſh admiral. Bull, with the exultation of
Engliſh courage, ordered the preparations for battle; and,
after diſtributing wine and chearfulneſs, commanded all to
their ſtations. Wood advanced, unconſcious of foes, till he
perceived the three ſhips under ſail, and attired for combat.
He inſtantly prepared, and addreſſed his men in the plain and
boiſterous phraſe of the ſea: "Theſe, my lads, are the foes,
who expect to convey us in bonds to the Engliſh king: but
by your courage, and the help of God, they ſhall fail. Set
yourſelves in order, every man to his ſtation. Charge gunners:
let the croſs-bows be ready: have the lime-pots, and fire-balls,
to the tops: two handed ſwords to the fore-rooms. Be ſtout,
be diligent, for your own ſakes, and for the honour of this
realm." Wine was then dealed around; and the ſhips reſounded
with acclamations.

The ſun, now above the horizon, ſhone full upon the Engliſh
veſſels, and diſplayed their magnitude and force to the eyes of
the Scots, with a dazzling and enlarged appearance. Wood
ſkilfully attained the wind-ward of the foe; and engaged in a
cloſe combat, which continued undecided from morning till
night, while crowds of ſpectators, aſſembling on the coaſt of
Fife, expreſſed by their geſtures and voice, their alternate
hopes and fears. During the night the combatants lay by to

refreſh

1490 refreſh and refit: at the dawn of day the trumpets again ſummoned them to arms. The battle continued ſo obſtinate, that the neglected veſſels drove before an ebb-tide, and ſouth wind, till they were oppoſite to the mouth of the Tay. At length the valour and ſeamanſhip of Wood prevailed: the three Engliſh ſhips were captured, and brought to Dundee, where the wounded were properly tended. Wood preſented Bull to the Scotiſh monarch, and was rewarded as ſuch eminent ſervices merited. James gave a ſpecimen of his future regal ſpirit by beſtowing gifts upon the Engliſh commander, and his people; and ſending them and their ſhips as a preſent to their ſovereign; whom he at the ſame time informed that Scotland could alſo boaſt of warlike ſons both by ſea and land; and therefore deſired that Henry would no more inſult the Scotiſh ſeas, elſe a different fate ſhould await the intruders. Henry murmured thanks, and diſſembled.

1491 The Engliſh king, whoſe pacific policy was aware of the advantages to ariſe from a laſting amity with Scotland, had already formed the deſign, which by perſeverance he accompliſhed, of uniting James with an Engliſh princeſs. It was apparently with a ſole view to the ſecurity of this ſcheme that Henry now entered into a diſgraceful negotiation. John lord Bothwell a favourite of James III, and Sir Thomas Tod of Sereſhaw one of that king's ſervants, ſubſcribed an engage-
16 April ment at Greenwich, for themſelves, and James earl of Buchan uncle to the late Scotiſh king, importing that they ſhould bring, and deliver into the hands of Henry, the king of Scots then reigning, and his ſecond brother the duke of Roſs: in expectation of which ſervice Henry's avarice advances a ſmall ſum of money [1]. So many difficulties attended this perfidious

[1] Rymer, XII, 440. The ſum was 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* which is mentioned to obviate the ſtrange inaccuracy of Abercromby and Guthrie. It amounts to 800*l.* Scotiſh, that money being then to the Engliſh as one to three.

and

and daring meaſure, that it appears never to have been at- 1491
tempted; and perhaps was originally a mere ſuggeſtion of the
neceſſities of Bothwell, and Tod.

Another parliament having met, it was ordained that the 18 May
alliance with France ſhould be renewed[4]; and, if poſſible, more ample privileges obtained in that kingdom, for the Scotiſh merchants: for which purpoſe, and for effecting the marriage of James, the earl of Bothwell, late lord Hales, and other embaſſadors of high rank, were appointed. Within a month after, the Engliſh court granted a paſsport for this embaſſy, which was alſo to proceed to Spain: but Henry probably by preſents to Home, or others in the Scotiſh miniſtry, perſiſted to fruſtrate the intentions of marriage. Some of our writers affect to conſider a papal interdict againſt Scotland, as the cauſe that the embaſſies repeatedly propoſed had not been executed; but the pope's cenſures did not extend to the king, or kingdom, as appears from the abſolving reſcript of Innocent VIII, ſoon to be noticed: the arts of Henry may therefore be regarded as the cauſe of delay; and againſt them the Scotiſh parliament could not provide, though certainly too wiſe to order embaſſies which could not be effected. A treaty

A curious original letter occurs in Cal. B. III, f. 19, of this or the preceding year. It is from the *Maſter* of Huntley to Henry VII, and is dated 8th January. The writer requeſts Henry to remember the ſlaughter of James, by a part of his falſe and untrue lieges, as that monarch "ſtood in near tenderneſs of blood to your highneſs;" and to join and aſſiſt the lords in revenge. Buchan is referred to for other matters, and what he promiſes the writer ſhall perform. The direction is "Til the kyng's grace of Ingland."

In May 1491 the earl of Huntley was conſtituted lieutenant of the North, till the king had attained the age of 25. Scotſt. Cal. In April the *ſtewardry* of March and Dunbar were aſſigned to Home. Ib. See notes 1489.

[4] Acts, f. 90. Du Tillet ſtates a renewal by James on the 4th of March 1492: fol. 149, edit. Paris 1588, folio.

1491 with Denmark was alſo again decreed. The days of truce, and warden courts, were ordered to be held in regular obſervance: ſo that a truce ſtill exiſted with England; and it is to be ſuſpected that the maritime actions of Wood were only exerted againſt pirates.

Among other wiſe ſtatutes of this parliament[5], the holding of high juſtice courts twice in the year is enforced; and it is ordained that when it ſhall be expedient, the ſovereign ſhall move his moſt noble perſon thereto, as the clauſe is expreſſed. The very conflicts of ſome writers againſt ſuch ordinances prove their ſpirit, and value; and a degree of bigotry muſt be required, not to perceive the preeminence of the legiſlative power above the executive.

The Scotiſh parliaments are ſoon to become more rare, and leſs worthy of hiſtorical commemoration: a few further notices ſhall therefore be extracted from the acts of the preſent national council. In the burghs, the objects of great attention to a friend of freedom, all leagues are prohibited, and no burgeſs is allowed to ride in warlike attire, except with the king or the legal officers: regulations concerning the due management of their revenues are alſo inſtituted. To provide a proper public force, it is decreed that regular *weapon-ſchawings*, or diſplays of arms, be held four times in the year; and the different armour of each rank, and the penalties of failure are diſtinctly ſpecified. The yeomen, from the age of ſixteen to that of ſixty, are among other weapons to bear the quiver and the bow; but theſe inſtruments were to continue the pride of England, and the fatal neglect of Scotland.

25 June The pontiff, Innocent VIII, expedited a reſcript to the abbots of Paiſley and Jedburgh, and the chancellor of the ſee

[5] Acts, f. 90—94. Douglas Peer. 434, mentions a GENERAL ACT OF INDEMNITY as having been now iſſued.

of

of Glaſgow, empowering them to abſolve thoſe who had 1491
ariſen againſt James III, and profeſſed repentance: from this mandate it appears that ſome of the ſpiritual lords were concerned in the inſurrection, but they are unmentioned by our hiſtorians [6]. About the ſame time Andrew Forman, a Scotiſhman, one of the papal protonotaries, arrived with an exhortatory epiſtle to the young monarch, perſuading him to perſevere, not in ſorrow and anxiety, but in honour, virtue, and religion.

A truce of five years was concluded between England and 21 Dec.
Scotland, by the plenipotentiaries who met at Coldſtream on the Tweed. Inſtead of conſervators a new form is preſcribed; certain lords ſpiritual and temporal, of both nations, being named, who were to ſet their ſeals to the ratification of their reſpective ſovereigns [7]. But this treaty was vague, and never fully ratified on the part of James.

To enforce the preſervation of the truce, Henry appointed 1492
commiſſioners *to adjuſt any caſual infraction*, and to provide 22 Aug.
againſt ſuch incidents for the future: an example which was ſoon after followed by the Scotiſh king [8]. Oct.

Eager to ſecure a matrimonial alliance with Scotland, Henry 1493
empowered embaſſadors to negotiate a marriage between James, May
and Catherine daughter of Eleonora counteſs of Wiltſhire,

[6] See it in Innes, II, 837. Drummond 126 erroneouſly aſcribes thoſe writings to Alexander VI, (Aug. 1492—1503;) whoſe exhortations to repentance would have been truly ludicrous.

[7] Rymer, XII, 465, 470. Of the 16th Nov. 1491 appear "Articles agreed upon betwixt Sir John Cheney, and Sir Thomas Tyler, knights, for king Henry VII, and Archibald Douglas earl of Angus, and George his ſon, offenſive and defenſive." Calendars of ancient Charters, London, 1772, 4to, p. 313. Treaſon ſeems to have been long hereditary in the houſe of Douglas. For Sir *Thomas* Tyler, read Sir *William*, as p. 314, and often in Rymer.

[8] Rymer, XII, 489, &c.

1493 one of the offspring of Henry's uncle, Edmund duke of Somerſet[9]. This treaty was ineffectual; but the truce was ex-
25 June tended to the laſt day of April 1501: and Henry paid to James one thouſand marks, in compenſation of the damages occaſioned by the Engliſh infringements[1].

In the next parliament[2] it was again ordered that the embaſſy, for the royal marriage, ſhould proceed to France, and other countries; the ſum formerly voted for this purpoſe was enlarged to ſeven thouſand pounds Scotiſh money, and was, by ſpecial clauſes, guarded againſt embezzlement even by the ſovereign.

The national council, with a laudable care, protected the privileges of the Scotiſh church, and endeavoured to preſerve its independency from the encroachments of the Roman court. The foreign diſpoſal of elective benefices was annulled; and the immunities of the ſees of St. Andrews, and of Glaſgow, which, a few years before, had been erected into an archbiſhopric[3], were ratified; theſe prelates being empowered to confirm the election of abbots within their dioceſes, excluſive of any application to Rome. The rival archbiſhops had brought a plea before the pope concerning their juriſdictions; and it was apprehended that the one or the other party might renounce his immunities, to win the papal favour: the parliament therefore deſired the king to interfere, by ſeizing the temporalities of the diſcordant prelates, in caſe they refuſed to ſubmit to an amicable domeſtic deciſion: and a further pu-

[9] Rymer, XII, 529. Catherine is ſtyled daughter of princeſs Eleonora, daughter of the late Edmund duke of Somerſet, our uncle. The father of Catherine was Sir Robert Spenſer. James I had married her grand aunt.

[1] Rymer, XII, 534. [2] Acts, f. 94—100.

[3] As decreed in parliament Jan. 1489, Carm. 75, and ratified by Innocent VIII, 1491. Chart. Glaſg. Keith Biſhops, 150.

niſhment.

niſhment was held out, if they violated at Rome any ſtatute of the realm, or privilege of the Scotiſh church. By ſome new and remarkable cuſtom, many proceſſes, even of laics, were dependent at Rome by appeals from the eccleſiaſtical courts: the three eſtates recommended to James to command the parties, by his embaſſadors, to return, and ſubmit their ſuits to their ordinaries, or other competent judges. Benefices were guarded from papal exactions: and the former law was revived which prohibited any perſon from appearing as legate in Scotland, except he were a native, or had attained the rank of cardinal [4]. 1493

Theſe ordinances expreſs dignity and ſpirit; nor was the prudence of thoſe concerning temporal affairs leſs conſpicuous. Different ſtatutes were enacted for the regulation of manufactures and commerce: and a large and formal revocation was made of all alienations of royal property ſince the ſecond day of September, in the year fourteen hundred, and eighty-ſeven; *the king having now* attained the complete age of twenty-one years. One of the moſt memorable acts of this parliament regards that neglected mine of wealth, the fiſhery, an object ſtill in its infancy after an elapſe of three centuries: the importance of this decree may well excuſe its inſertion in modern orthography, but with much of its antique ſimplicity. "Concerning the great innumerable riches, which are loſt, for want of ſhips, and *buſſes*, to be employed in fiſhing, as other realms have, that border on the ſea; and for the advantages of *police*, and wealth, to be attained by this mean, and the employment of idlers and vagabonds, who might thus la-

[4] Many of the eccleſiaſtic immunities had been ordained by James I, "of maiſt noble mind," an emphatic expreſſion, like the *Menti Laudandæ* on the coins of Pertinax. James III continues to be mentioned with diſreſpect by the legiſlature.

bour

1493 bour for their livelihood, and for the common profit, and univerſal good of the realm, it is thought expedient by the lords of the articles, and ordained in this parliament, that there be ſhips and buſſes made in, (or furniſhed by,) all burghs and towns, within this realm; and that the leaſt of the ſaid ſhips and buſſes be of twenty tons. That theſe veſſels be furniſhed according to the wealth of each town, in the number after mentioned [5]; be well equipped with all neceſſaries, with mariners, nets, and proper inſtruments for taking large fiſh and ſmall; and be ready to paſs to the fiſhery by ſhrove-tueſday next. That in every burgh of regality the officers cauſe all ſtout idle men to paſs in theſe veſſels for wages, and if they refuſe baniſh them from the burgh: that in thoſe burghs of barony, which are ſituated near the ſea, the ſheriffs purſue the ſame courſe; and upon failure the negligent officer, or ſheriff, ſhall pay a fine of twenty pounds in the royal exchequer [6]." Such is this remarkable ſtatute; which, notwithſtanding its ſtrength, appears to have produced *no effect*.

1494 Except ſome minute negotiations with England, no inci-
13 June dent worth mention ariſes till the appearance of another parliament [7]; after which, from whatever cauſe, none of theſe aſſemblies occur for the ſpace of eight years. The laws concerning benefices were confirmed, and enlarged: and the exorbitant prices, charged by the craftſmen, were ordered to be reduced upon a due conſideration of the value of materials,

[5] This number unhappily does not appear. [6] Acts, f. 98.

[7] Ibid. f. v. 100. Granger, cont. of Maitland, II, 716, aſcribes the acts of this parliament to 1496; but the edition called the Black Acts is far from infallible in its dates. Murray of Glendook, f. 95, aſcribes this parliament to 1494. Carmichael's Tracts indicate no parliament of 1496: Abercromby, II, 500, abides by 1494. Leſley, 333, aſſigns the famous ſtatute of education to 1493.

and

and the price of proviſions. This parliament derives ſingular honour from the celebrated ſtatute concerning education, which is of the following purport. "It is ordained through all the realm that all barons, and ſubſtantial freeholders, put their eldeſt ſons and heirs, to the ſchools, at the age of ſix, or at the utmoſt nine years; who are to remain at the grammar ſchools, till they have a competent foundation, and good ſkill in latin. After which they are to ſtudy three years in the ſchools of arts and laws: ſo that they may have knowledge in the laws, and by this mean juſtice be diſtributed through all the realm: thoſe who become ſheriffs, or judges ordinary, having proper underſtanding, and the poor being under no neceſſity of recourſe to high courts for every ſmall injury. Any baron, or freeholder, failing without juſt cauſe, is to incur a penalty of twenty pounds[8]." This act appears to have contributed towards the advancement of learning in Scotland, which the invention of printing now diſſeminated quickly over Europe: the names of biſhop *Elphinſton* and *Gawin Douglas* honour this period; but any further conſideration of the ſubject is reſerved for a ſubſequent diviſion of this work. 1494

Meanwhile the ſtate of Scotland was not a little proſperous. Free from foreign war, and bleſſed with a degree of internal tranquillity long unknown, the king, the nobles, the people, were united in mutual attachment and confidence. The liberality of James formed a pleaſing contraſt to the ſordid diſpoſition of his father: and, inſtead of mean favourites the ſcourges of the people, his court was crouded with faithful peers, whoſe hereditary wealth at leaſt exempted them from the baſeneſs of avarice, and the atrocity of vulgar oppreſſion. Their rank was founded upon honour; and honour may often ſupply the

[8] Acts, f. 101.

defect

1494 defect of virtue, while conſcious vileneſs ſtoops to every crime. The favour, and attention, of the ſovereign, were equalled by the affection, and duty, of the nobles; who, from proud potentates, became loyal courtiers. To encourage this reformation, now gradually advancing with the progreſs of refinement, the magnificence of James eſtabliſhed frequent tournaments; in which the arms of warlike peers, often in former times the terror of the monarch, were now exhibited for his amuſement. The young king, himſelf eminent in arms, and inflamed with the ſpirit of chivalry, and love of glory, delighted to behold and to reward martial ſkill. He repeatedly invited by proclamation the earls, barons, and knights, to tournaments, and other warlike exerciſes; and at the appointed place, which was generally Edinburgh the capital city, ſome ran with ſpears, others fought with the battle-ax, others with two handed ſwords; while ſome ſhot at marks with the bow, croſs-bow, or culverin. In whatever weapon each victor excelled, he received one of the ſame kind richly ornamented; and the heralds proclaimed his merit amid ſhouts of applauſe. The voice of chivalry reſounded over Europe the fame of the Scotiſh court: and many an errant knight came from diſtant countries, to engage in this theatre of renown [9].

Nor was James leſs popular among the nation at large, who eſteemed his regal ſpirit; and loved his amiable appearance, and qualities, and even his wildneſs of youth. Sometimes he would travel, diſguiſed and unknown, through a great part of his kingdom, and lodge in the hovels of the poor; where he would provoke the voice of truth, ſo odious to royal ears, by queſtions concerning his own character, and conduct, without any dread or anxiety at thus learning his reputation from

[9] Lindſay, 159, 160.

the

the univerſal voice. In theſe rambles he diſdained not to ſhew 1494
his knowledge of medicine, and ſurgery; in which arts the
rudeneſs of his kingdom afforded no ſuperior [1]. He had all
that love of muſic, poetry, and the arts and ſciences in general,
which was hereditary in the houſe of Stuart. From a curioſity,
inherent to ſuch a laudable diſpoſition, he cauſed a human
monſter, born in his dominions with a duplicate body above
the waiſt, to be taught many languages, with muſic, and ſing-
ing; ſo that it could perform both treble and tenor at once.
To make ſome diſcovery on the origin of language, two in-
fants under the charge of a dumb woman were ſent into the
iſle of Inch Keith: but the ſelf-taught ſpeech has not been
explained; and it is needleſs to add that it muſt have been
original, and perhaps though there was ſome ſociety, little
ſuperior to the brutiſh babble of thoſe unfortunate beings, loſt
during their infancy in extenſive foreſts [2].

The youthful and vague amours of James rendered him 1495
little deſirous of a ſpeedy marriage; and his ſpirit of chivalry
was to plunge his kingdom into two impolitic, and unneceſſary,
wars with England; the latter of which received a dreadful
expiation in his blood, and that of moſt of his nobles. A ne-
gotiation was apparently now at iſſue between James, and the
high-ſpirited ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, ſiſter of Edward IV,
who, with the female arts afterwards ſucceſsfully practiſed by
the French queen, appealed to the knighthood of the Scotiſh
ſovereign, in defence of the diſtreſſed. It is moſt probable

[1] Lindſay, 159, 162. Buch. XIII, 42. [2] Id. 160, 162. Buch. XIII, 7.
Of the 26th March 1494 appears an indenture between the biſhop of St. Aſaph, Thomas lord Dacre, John Heron of Ford lieutenant of the eaſtern and middle marches; and the biſhop of Dunkeld, lord Borthwick, &c. concerning Canonby in the debateable lands. Cal. B. VII, 163. Other minute tranſactions may be ſeen in Redpath, 465.

1495 that gold was alſo effectual, in exciting James to the romantic deſign of raiſing Perkin Warbec, or Richard duke of York ſon of Edward IV, to the Engliſh throne. Anxious to prevent
June this treaty, Henry VII appointed commiſſioners, not only to prolong the truce with James during their lives, but to offer his infant daughter Margaret, now only ſix years of age, in marriage to the king of Scotland [3]. This propoſal was neglected: and it was little probable that James ſhould wait for ſo immature a bride; but, eight years afterwards, this event took place, to the ſurprize and laſting advantage of both kingdoms.

1496 The ſtory of Perkin Warbec, or Richard duke of York, is ſo well known that it is unneceſſary to expatiate on a ſubject more properly belonging to Engliſh hiſtory; nor ſhall any diſcuſſion be here attempted of the arguments for, and againſt, his being the real ſon of Edward IV. It is particularly unneceſſary to make an excurſion from the hiſtory of Scotland, in ſearch of difficulties; and it ſhall ſuffice to commence with the arrival of Perkin at the court of James, which happened this year. The pretender brought letters of powerful recommendation from Charles VIII of France, and from Maximilian king of the Romans. Attended by an opulent equipage, and honourable train of foreigners, his majeſtic elegance of perſon, and manners, conſpired to ſecure the favour of a youthful ſovereign, warmly open to the impreſſions of external ſplendor. Perkin repreſented himſelf as the ſecond ſon of Edward IV, whom the remorſe of aſſaſſins, fated with the blood of his elder brother, had permitted, and aſſiſted, to

[3] Rymer, XII, 572. In March Henry had iſſued a commiſſion to SURREY, to array the northern counties againſt any attempt of his enemies *from Scotland or other parts*, ib. 568; but it appears not that Henry yet expected that James would aſſiſt Warbeck.

eſcape

eſcape to the continent. Senſible of the truth of his report, 1496
or miſled by appearance, or deſirous to increaſe the importance
and danger of a pretended rival to the Engliſh king, James
aſſigned to Perkin in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon,
daughter of the earl of Huntley; who united to her connection
with the royal blood the praiſe of eminent merit, and beauty [4].

The moſt curious, and authentic, intelligence concerning the preparations of James in ſupport of Warbec, may be found in two original letters to Henry VII, from a ſpy whom he employed in the Scotiſh court. This ſpy was no other than the favourite of the late king, John Ramſay ſtyling himſelf lord Bothwell, but only acknowledged as *laird* of Balmain in Scotland, whither he had ventured to return, amidſt the general indulgence ſhewn by James to the friends of his father.

In his firſt letter [5], Ramſay informs Henry that he had re- 8 Sept.
viſited the Scotiſh court ſolely for his ſervice, and had often ſolicited James and his peers to abandon their ſupport of "this feigned boy [6]:" that James was to advance to Ellam-kirk with his army, accompanied by Perkin and his few troops, amounting to 1400 of all nations; and the Scotiſh king had determined to invade England on the ſeventeenth of September, in oppoſition to the wiſhes of the barons and people: but Ramſay hopes he will be puniſhed for his *cruel conſent* to the murder of his father. James had required Perkin to deliver up Berwick, and the ſeven ſheriffdoms [7]; and to pay, within five years after his eſtabliſhment on the throne, the ſum of one hundred thouſand marks. Perkin demurred, but offered Berwick, and fifty thouſand marks to be paid in two years.

[4] Leſl. 335. Stewart Gen. 65.

[5] O. Veſp. C. XVI, 23, f. 152, Berwick 8th September; well written, and apparently by Bothwell himſelf. James III was the friend of men of education.

[6] Literatim "this fenyt boy." [7] Their names are unmentioned.

1496 Ramſay proceeds to inform Henry that he was preſent at the reception of Concreſſault [8], the French embaſſador, who adviſed the continuance of peace between Scotland and England, but James complained of the ravages on the borders and the loſs of his ſhips: that Sir George Neville had joined Perkin: that James was not poſſeſſed of one hundred pounds in money, till now that he had coined his chains and plate. He alſo ſtates that the Scots were diſcontented; and many of the late king's ſervants wiſhed to revenge his death [9]: that Rodyk de Lalane had arrived from Flanders, with two ſmall veſſels, and ſixty Germans, in aid of Perkin: that as the inhabitants of the ſea-ports were with James, it would be eaſy for the Engliſh navy to deſtroy the maritime towns, and ſhips; and that the Scotiſh artillery remains at Edinburgh [1]. Ramſay concludes with adviſing Henry to attack the Scotiſh army from behind.

The ſecond letter [2] bears that Buchan was to undertake the matter recommended by Henry; that all were now encamped in tents, but Ramſay had paſſed to St. Andrews, and preſented the croſs-bow ſent by Henry to the king's brother, who promiſed to ſerve the Engliſh king, and not to join the army; the biſhop of Moray [3] was occupied in perſuading the prince

[8] Monipeny of Concreſſault in Berry, of Scotiſh extract. See Hiſt. de Berry par Thaumaſſiere above quoted.

[9] Would ſee *remedy* of his death.

[1] It only conſiſted of two great *curtaldis* ſent from France, ten falcons, thirty iron cart guns, and ſixteen carts for powder and *ſtones*, (the balls being then of ſtone.)

[2] Q. Cal. C. XVI, 24, f. 154, no date.

[3] "And now my lord of Murray paſſis our to him, gyff the king cummis to this journay, (as I dout nocht he will, incontrair his barronis willis, and all his hail people;) and my lord vill ſoliſt this young prince to cum to your graice." There was no earl of Moray 1455—1501; this muſt be the biſhop of Moray, Andrew Stuart grand-uncle to the king.

to

to leave Scotland, and eſcape to the Engliſh court: that, on 1496
the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, a meſſenger had arrived from Dacre's brother to Perkin, and many of the common people of Northumberland had joined this pretender: but that if Henry will ſend an able general, more advantage may be gained over Scotland than any Engliſh monarch could aſpire to, for theſe hundred years.

Such are theſe ſingular letters, which it muſt be remembered are written by a violent enemy of James.

Though the ſeaſon was far advanced, James reſolved to avail himſelf of the firſt impreſſions; and to try the diſpoſition of the Engliſh in favour of the candidate for the crown. With this view he raiſed a conſiderable force, and entered Northumberland; where Perkin iſſued a manifeſto, offering deliverance from tyranny, and general amneſty, to his preſumed ſubjects, with a high reward for the capture, or ſlaughter, of Henry Tudor. But the Engliſh were completely ſatiated with civil wars; and refuſed to join the dangerous ſtandard of an antient foe, and of a dubious prince. The Scotiſh king, ſatisfied with having ſhewn the candidate to his people, and to fortune, was convinced that the ſcheme was hopeleſs; and became irritated by the failure of his deſign. In revenge, he plundered the country, or laid it under contribution. Perkin, either from juſt feelings, or juſt diſſimulation, eagerly interfered, remonſtrating that he would not deſire even to ſecure the crown, at the expence of the blood, and wealth, of his people. James retorted with a ſneer, "You are too careful of a nation, which acknowledges you neither for a king nor a ſubject; and which is wholly devoted to your chief enemy." After conſiderable depredations, the Scotiſh army returned loaded with booty[4].

Henry

[4] Leſl. 335, Buch. XIII, 14. Lindſay has unaccountable omiſſions, and the events 1490—1503 are wanting. So vague and meagre are the Engliſh hiſtories

1496 Henry had ſo little expected this attack, that, in September, he had repeated his commiſſion for the marriage of his daughter to James [5]. But the impetuoſity of the Scotiſh monarch defied the dictates of cool policy, which ſuppoſes an antagoniſt poſſeſſed of wiſdom, and an attention to his own intereſt, and is often unguarded againſt raſh imprudence. The ſeaſon of winter forbad immediate repriſals: and the Engliſh king, in the mean time, called a parliament, and procured ſupplies for future vengeance [6].

1497 Sir Thomas Dacre was appointed by Henry his lieutenant
13 Feb. in the north, to defend that region againſt the Scots; whoſe king, as expreſſed in the royal commiſſion, had invaded England with a great army of rebels, and traitors, and, without commiſeration of age or ſex, had killed, plundered, ſeized fortreſſes, and given villages to the flames [7]. Thomas Howard earl of Surrey, a nobleman pardoned by Henry VII after the battle of Boſworth, and who was long to be a ſcourge of the Scots, had orders to collect a large array for the retaliation of the Scotiſh invaſion; but his march from Yorkſhire was countermanded on account of an inſurrection in Cornwall, occaſioned by the avaricious taxes of Henry, increaſed by the war. The inſurgents joined lord Audley at Wells, and advanced into Kent; where they were ſoon afterwards defeated, and diſperſed [8]. Yet James ſeized the opportunity of this commotion

hiſtorics of this period, that the preciſe dates of this expedition are unnoted. Redpath, 467, is ſtrangely defective in an event ſo connected with his deſign.

Compare Polyd. Virg. XXVI, p. 597, ed. 1570. Hall 11 H 7. (ſhould be beginning of 12 H 7.) Fabian II, 231. Holinſhed, III, p. 1445. The maniſeſto of Perkin may be found in Carte II, 348, 349.

[5] Rymer, XII, 625, 2d Sept. [6] Bacon hiſt. of Henry VII, 617.

[7] Rymer, XII, 647. The invaſion of James is ſaid to have been "jamdudum," ſome time ago.

[8] Bacon, ib. About twenty years after theſe events, Cardinal Wolſey conſulted Fox, then biſhop of Wincheſter, concerning the plans of Henry in the Scotiſh

tion to form another invaſion: and, after extenſive depreda- 1497
tions, he laid ſiege to the caſtle of Norham. This fortreſs, July
having been recently ſupplied with the exigencies of a ſiege by the care of Fox the biſhop of Durham its proprietor, was defended till Surrey advanced with a ſuperior force, upon which the Scots retired [9]. The Engliſh general entered Scotland; but retreated after taking the caſtle of Aytoun [1]. It is probable that Henry, perſiſting in his patriotic views of a matrimonial connection with Scotland, perceived that the warmth of James muſt ſoon expire, if left without materials of irritation; and therefore commanded Surrey to uſe moderate hoſtilities. Perhaps the recent inſurrection, and the imminent hazards of a defeat to the unpopular arms of Henry, while a pretender was ready to avail himſelf of every advantage, might well induce great prudence and apprehenſion.

However this be, ſuch was the cloſe of this war; which, on the part of James, now appears romantic and unwiſe; but has ſome claim to prudence, when compared with that which terminated his reign. The unpopularity of Henry's government, and the tried affection of the Engliſh to the houſe of York, might infer a degree of certainty to the deſign; and James had doubtleſs ſtipulated great conceſſions to his kingdom. But he was unaware of the many artful chains, by which Henry had fixed the pavilion of his royalty againſt the tempeſt of commotion; unaware of that increaſe in the wealth and power of England, which enabled her ſovereigns to delegate a Scotiſh war to a lieutenant, inſtead of honouring it, as in former times, with perſonal rivalry.

Scotiſh war. The biſhop only anſwers that Henry had intended a ſtrong invaſion, but was prevented by the inſurrections in Cornwall and Devon. O. Wincheſter to Wolſey, Cal. B. VI, 249.

[9] Leſl. 335. Buch. XIII, 16. [1] Buch. ib.

On

1497 On the fifth of July Henry had iſſued his inſtructions to the biſhop of Durham, to repreſent to James, that the offers of Angus and Home, at Jenynhaugh, were inſufficient: to deſire that Perkin be given up, not on account of any eſtimation in which Henry held him, but as a *rebel*, and the cauſe of the war: if Perkin be not yielded, the biſhop is to inſiſt that not only an embaſſy, conſiſting of the biſhop of Moray, Angus, and Home, be ſent to England, but that James ſhall proceed to Newcaſtle to meet Henry, and form a ſtricter alliance; on which conditions the Engliſh navy, then at ſea, was to be recalled, though equipped at great expence [2]. But this negotiation was ineffectual.

Spain being the ally of both kingdoms, Pedro d'Ayala [3], the embaſſador of Ferdinand and Iſabella at the Engliſh court, undertook to negotiate a treaty. Having alſo credentials to James, he paſſed to that prince; and having induced him to an accommodation, obtained the appointment of commiſſioners
30 Sept. on both ſides. A truce of ſeven years was concluded at Aytoun: and ſoon after it was agreed by d'Ayala, who had obtained the confidence of James ſo far as to be nominated his ſole commiſſioner, and by William Warham, for the Engliſh king, that the truce ſhould exiſt during the lives of both monarchs, and a year after the death of the ſurvivor [4]. Perkin's cauſe was as haſtily abandoned as it had been adopted: but James rejected the meanneſs of ſurrendering him, as demanded; and furniſhed him with veſſels and neceſſaries. The unfortu-

[2] C. Veſp. C. XVI, f. 141, 5 July 12 H 7. Angus, now chancellor, (1493—1498 Crawf. Off. 55,) and Home, were palpably in the Engliſh intereſts: the biſhop of Moray was Andrew Stuart, third ſon of the widow of James I by her ſecond marriage. Keith Biſhops, 86. See the preceding year.

[3] Perhaps a deſcendant of the Spaniſh hiſtorian, whoſe work was lately publiſhed at Madrid, 4to.

[4] Rymer XII, 673, 722.

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nate prince, or adventurer, proceeded to Ireland, and thence 1497
to Cornwall, where he joined ſome inſurgents; and, about
two years after he had left Scotland, he was executed at Ty-
burn. His wife, who had faithfully accompanied his dangers,
was an object of compaſſion and admiration. After the cap-
ture of her huſband, Henry ſummoned her from St. Michael's
mount in Cornwall, where ſhe had taken refuge, for he was
anxious leſt her pregnancy might occaſion repeated tumults:
but his apprehenſions were vain. Struck with her beauty,
and virtues, he recommended her to the charge of his queen;
and aſſigned her a penſion, which ſhe enjoyed many years
after his death, the popular voice applying to her elegant form
the title of the White Roſe, the badge of her huſband's claim [5].

[5] Leſl. 337. Stewart Gen. 65, ſays that ſhe afterwards married Sir Matthew Cradock of Wales, an anceſtor of the Pembroke family.

Benoit André of Tholouſe, hiſtoriographer and poet laureat to Henry VII, has written a panegyric on that monarch, Jul. A. IV, and an imperfect narrative of his reign. The part *Domit. A. XVIII*, extends from 1485 to 1498; that marked Julius A. III, is the concluſion, and hardly contains two years 1507, 1508.

In Domit. A. XVIII, he informs us that he had been tutor to prince Arthur for four years, was now blind, and compoſed that part in 1500. He ſays Richard III ordered the murder of the ſons of Edward IV, "ferro feriri juſſit." He interſperſes many poems and orations; among the former is one on the murder of Northumberland by the rebels. Perkin he regards as an impoſtor, but excuſes James, "Rex errore deceptus, ut plerique alii, etiam prudentiſſimi, autea principes." After mentioning Warbeck's capture he adds, "Conjunx illius modeſto venuſtoque vultu, egregia forma, atque ætate integra, in regium conſpectum, magno cum rubore, et obortis lachrymis, producta eſt. Cui rex benigniſſimus humaniſſimo ſic protulit ore." Then an oration, as uſual; after which Henry ſends her to the queen. This part cloſes three leaves after, with a ſpeech of Henry to the rebels of Cornwall. It is ſurprizing that he is ſilent concerning the Scotiſh invaſion, but his work has many chaſms. Here he is too rhetorical: in Julius A. III too minute. The real manner of hiſtory he never attained.

1497 This year that deplorable contagion, which corrupts the ſources of pleaſure and of generation, firſt appeared in Scotland; and an order of the magiſtrates of Edinburgh is preſerved, enjoining the infected to paſs to the little iſle of Inch Keith, in the firth of the Forth[6]. It is probable that the ſtrangers, who attended Perkin, firſt imported this diſorder; and the epoch deſerves a place in hiſtory, which is often only a record of human miſery.

1498 The amity, which had been eſtabliſhed between Henry and James, was in danger of a ſpeedy interruption from an accidental cauſe. Some Scotiſh youths viſiting the town of Norham, which was only divided from their country by the eaſy paſſage of the Tweed, a diſpute aroſe between them and the garriſon of the caſtle, who accuſed them of being ſpies. A ſkirmiſh followed, in which ſeveral were wounded on both ſides; and the Scots, who were inferior in number, were forced to retire, leaving ſome of their companions on the field. The matter being agitated in the warden courts without ſucceſs, James became enraged at the ſuppoſed perfidy; and diſpatched a herald to the Engliſh court, denouncing immediate war, in caſe ſatisfaction were not made for the injury. Henry's phlegmatic temper was fortunately oppoſed to the warmth of James; and he explicitly declared the innocence of his intentions, and his wiſh to puniſh the guilty. But the impetuoſity of the Scotiſh king was increaſed by the neceſſary delay, and was with difficulty appeaſed by the inſinuation, and ſubmiſſions, of Fox the biſhop of Durham, to whom the caſtle belonged[7].

This

[6] Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 260 from the Council Regiſter, I, 33, Sept. 22, 1497. It is called the *grand-gore*: ſo Bouchet Ann. d'Aq. f. 180, "la grant gorre, parce qu'elle ſe prenoit aux plus gorgias."

[7] Leſl. 337. Buch. XIII, 19, 20. Holinſhed III, 1452. A defenſive alliance was this year concluded, between France, Denmark and Scotland,

Louis

This incident delayed the ratification of the truce, concluded between the two monarchs for their lives as above mentioned: but Henry now ſent Robert Rydon, vice admiral of his kingdom, to the Scotiſh court; and the treaty was compleated by the plenary conſent of James, and ſoon after by that of Henry[8]. 1499 20 July 8 Sept.

The perſeverance of the Engliſh king, and perhaps his pecuniary influence over the Scotiſh miniſtry, at laſt prevailed upon James to hearken to the propoſal of a connubial alliance. The biſhop of Durham, whoſe eloquence and talents had rendered him acceptable with the king of Scotland, was nominated by Henry to conduct this important negotiation[9]; but its progreſs, and completion, ſhall be reſerved till the queen's arrival in Scotland, four years after this period. 11 Sept.

It is pleaſing to diverſify the repeated ſeries of wars, and negotiations, by ſome attention to the arts of peace. Among theſe the progreſs of ſcience is peculiarly important, and intereſting: and it muſt not be omitted that, in this year, which commences a *century of illumination*, a *third univerſity*, that of Aberdeen, was opened in Scotland. William Elphinſton, the learned biſhop of that ſee, was the founder of this edifice: the bull of erection and privileges had been obtained from Alexander VI, in 1494; but the manſion was not completed, nor the education begun till the preſent year[1]. Elphinſton was excited to this laudable deſign, not only from a deſire to 1500

Louis XII, John, and James IV. Mallet Abr. I, 166. See Du Tillet 152. But, at Henry's deſire, the ſolemn alliance with France was not renewed by James.

[8] Rymer, XII, 722. [9] Ibid. 729.

[1] Crawf. Off. 51, (a miſplaced life, as Elphinſton was only chancellor for a few months in 1488, ib. 50.) Orem's hiſt. of Aberdeen in Bib. Top. 114. See alſo Boyce's beſt work, his lives of the biſhops of Aberdeen, Paris 1522, 4to. f. 18—36.

The royal charters of erection of this univerſity, May 1497, and Aug. 1498, are extracted by Scotſtarvet in his Calendars

1500 propagate ſcience, but in the view of that improvement of manners, which had appeared in the weſt of Scotland after the foundation of the univerſity of Glaſgow. Learning long depreſſed in that kingdom by unfavourable circumſtances, now began to dart deep roots, and to ſhoot with rapidity. Nor were the native muſes ſilent; for the court of James reſounded with the ſtrains of Douglas, Dunbar, and other eminent poets.

1501 About this time it appears that James, in his attachment to chivalry, inſtituted the badge, perhaps the order, of St. Andrew, or the thiſtle, fabulouſly aſcribed by antiquaries to periods more remote, while the only doubt of a rational enquirer is whether this monarch, or his ſucceſſor James V, muſt be regarded as the founder of this new order of knighthood [2]. The obſcurity of its origin teſtifies its want of renown, till it was revived with ſplendor in the eighteenth century. The earldom of Moray, an important title, vacant as appears ſince it was forfeited by Archibald Douglas in 1455,

[2] Leſley, lib. IX, p. 439, mentions the order of St. Andrew, as blazoned by James V in 1534, but is ſilent concerning its origin. The firſt authentic appearance of the thiſtle, as a Scotiſh badge, is in the poem of Dunbar The Thiſtle and the Roſe 1503, and in the account of Margaret's reception and wedding, (Lel. IV, 358, &c.) where it is called a *charbon*. In the valuable portraits of our monarchs, publiſhed by Jonſton in his Inſcriptiones Hiſtoricæ Amſt. 1602, 4to, James IV appears with the thiſtle. The date of the garter in 1350, of the golden fleece 1429, of St. Michael the oldeſt in France 1469. Niſbet Heraldry, II, 108, gives a ſtrange chaos of inaccuracy concerning the order of the thiſtle, which he ſuppoſes more ancient than the garter! And he ridiculouſly confounds the badge of St. Andrew, the tutelary ſaint of Scotland, with a military order. If coins and portraits, ornamented with favourite ſaints, were to indicate an order of knighthood, a thouſand orders never known might burſt into celebrity from the miſt of antiquarian reaſoning. It is believed that not one knight of the thiſtle can be mentioned till the preſent century: the order ſeems confined to the monarchs.

was

was now conferred by James upon his natural ſon by the 1501
daughter of lord Kennedy [3].

The final concluſion of the marriage treaty, and perpetual 1502
peace, with England, contributed to increaſe the feſtivity of the Scotiſh court, which before exceeded moderation. The youth, and gallant temper, of James induced him to a diſplay of magnificence, and a profuſion of expenditure, improper for his own finances, or thoſe of his kingdom. Sums, which might have contributed much to public utility, were ſacrificed to vain ſhew, and upon the altar of mercenary beauty. Beſides vulgar and fugitive amours, the daughters of the nobles yielded to his attractions of perſon and rank: three ladies of quality produced pledges of his love; and by a fourth, the daughter of a gentleman of eſtate, he had two natural children, the eldeſt now in his tenth year [4]. Among his expences thoſe of architecture were perhaps the moſt laudable, the palaces of Stirling and Falkland were adorned and improved: nor was his natural ſuperſtition unemployed in building and enlarging monaſteries, and other religious foundations [5], for his piety, as not unuſual, was as violent as his diſpoſition to amorous ſin. Yet even his vain magnificence delighted the general eye; the people ſmiled at his pleaſures, while they enjoyed his equitable and proſperous government: and James deſerved, and obtained, the voice of public applauſe.

[3] Scotſt. Cal. 12 June 1501. Of the 5th May 1501, appears another leaſe of Orkney and *Yetland*, for nineteen years, to Henry lord Sinclair at 650 marks. In 1499, 4 Nov. James granted the lands of Far, and others, in the north weſt extremity of Scotland, to *Odo alias Y* Mackay in Strathnavern, for taking Alexander Sutherland and ten other rebels. Ib. The lands had belonged to Sutherland, and laid the foundation of the power of the Mackays, lords Rea, ſprung from the family of Forbes. Douglas Peer. 568, ſeq.

[4] Alexander born in 1492, by Mary Boyd daughter of Boyd of Bonſhaw. Stew. Gen. 84.

[5] Buch. XIII, 21.

BOOK XI.

BEING

THE SECOND, AND LAST, PART OF

THE REIGN OF JAMES IV.

Marriage treaty with England—arrival of Margaret—parliament—regulation of the highlands and iſles—other ſtatutes—Aubigny in Scotland—epiſtles of James—affairs of Europe—king's ſuperſtition—connection with Odonnel—embaſſies—affair with the Dutch—Bartons—Arran impriſoned in England—negotiations—printing—tranſactions with Henry VIII—affairs of Europe—the great Michael—defeat of Andrew Barton—enmity with England—embaſſy from France—confederacy againſt that kingdom—birth of a prince—French league renewed and enlarged—Scotiſh navy—negotiations—embaſſy of Weſt—infamy of Forman biſhop of Moray—French arts—war with England—Scotiſh fleet ſails—plunders Carrickfergus—letters of James and Henry—James invades England—battle of Flodden, and death of the king.

1503 AN event of the greateſt importance, in its conſequences, adorns the annals of this year. After much negotiation, Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII, at length arrived in Scotland,

Scotland, and was wedded to James [1]. A remote advantage of this fortunate alliance was, that the two kingdoms, intended by nature for union and mutual benefits, but which had, from the first dawn of their history, been occupied in the reciprocal destruction of perpetual wars, were to be consolidated into one powerful state; and were at last to perceive that the immutable interests of both were concentrated in eternal amity. This interesting incident therefore well deserves a particular detail; and that law of historical elucidation, which requires that the circumstances of an event be brought into one connected point of view, demanded that the detail should be reserved for this place. 1503 8 August

It has been related in the former book that, in September 1499, the Scotish monarch began to accede to the favourite design, long nourished by Henry, of establishing a connubial alliance. Next year, Henry obtained, from Alexander VI, a pontifical dispensation for his daughter's marriage to James, though they were only within the fourth degree of consanguinity [2]: and, in October 1501, the nonage of the princess excusing any slowness of procedure, James appointed his plenipotentiaries to conclude the affair; who were Robert archbishop of Glasgow, Patrick earl of Bothwell great admiral of Scotland, and warden of the western marches, and Andrew Forman bishop of Moray [3]. The English king nominated the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, and the earl of Surrey [4]: and, on the fourth of January 1502, the com-

[1] On the 8th August says Fabian, II, 232. See also Hall, 19 H7. At the end of the new edition of Leland's Collectanea, IV, 258, may be found a minute and curious account of her journey, and wedding, by John Young, Somerset herald, who attended her.

[2] Rymer, XII, 765. [3] Ib. 776. [4] Ib. 787.

missioners

1503 miſſioners of both kingdoms concluded the following agreement, at the royal palace of Richmond [5].

1. That James ſhall at Candlemas next, perſonally or by proxy, marry the princeſs Margaret, who had attained the nubile age of twelve years on the thirtieth day of laſt November; and that no exceptions ſhall be made on account of conſanguinity, that bar being removed by the papal diſpenſation.

2. That the princeſs ſhall be conducted into Scotland, at the expence of her father; and ſhall be delivered to her huſband, or to any perſonages impowered by him to receive her, at Lambertonkirk, about the beginning of September 1503, and not before that time [6].

3. That Margaret ſhall, before the firſt day of July 1503, receive legal ſeizin of all the lands, caſtles, and other poſſeſſions, uſually held by the queens dowagers of Scotland; and if theſe be found inſufficient to yield a yearly revenue of two thouſand pounds ſterling, or the then equivalent ſum of ſix thouſand pounds Scotiſh money, her huſband ſhall aſſign other lands to compenſate the deficiency.

4. That the princeſs ſhall be allowed to keep at leaſt twenty-four Engliſh ſervants, beſides her Scotiſh domeſtics: and her whole houſehold ſhall be maintained, in due ſplendor, at the expences of her huſband, who ſhall moreover allow her the yearly ſum of a thouſand pounds Scotiſh, or five hundred marks ſterling, to be paid in equal ſums, at the feaſts of Eaſter and Michaelmas, for her private purſe.

5. That in caſe of the death of the king her huſband, ſhe may either reſide in Scotland, or not, at her pleaſure; and her jointure ſhall, in either event, be punctually paid.

[5] Rymer, XII, 787—791.

[6] She arrived in Scotland a month before, but the meaning is that James had no title to *demand* her till then. See his promiſe to that effect. Ayloffe's Cal. 314.

6. That

6. That the king her father ſhall pay, as her dower, thirty 1503
thouſand pieces of gold called angel-nobles, or the equivalent in other Engliſh currency; whereof ten thouſand are to be paid at Edinburgh, eight days after the conſummation of the marriage; other ten thouſand at Coldingham on the anniverſary of that day 1504; and the laſt ten thouſand before the end of the year 1505 [7].

7. That if Margaret ſhall die without iſſue, before the complete payment, the balance ſhall not be demanded; but if there be progeny the whole ſhall be paid.

Such was this remarkable treaty, which bears teſtimony in ſome clauſes to the arts and avarice of Henry VII. In 1474, when money was perhaps more valuable, Edward IV had aſſigned twenty thouſand marks as the portion of his daughter, upon her marriage with the prince of Scotland; and Henry allows only fifteen thouſand marks, each angel-noble being worth but half a mark, upon a connubial alliance with the Scotiſh monarch. This will appear the more remarkable, when we conſider that James is bound to renounce all claim to Berwick: and it muſt be concluded that the gold of England influenced the Scotiſh miniſtry and embaſſy. But the avarice of Henry, abſurdly and impoliticly diſplayed in ſuch a critical affair, defeated its own purpoſes. Had Berwick been reſtored to Scotland, to which country from its ſituation on the northern ſhore of the Tweed, and from long poſſeſſion it properly belongs; and had the portion of Margaret been more worthy of an Engliſh princeſs, wedded to a king; neither injured pride, nor penurious finances, might have ſtimulated James to violate the peace, and to return to the ruinous connection with France.

[7] The ſum was ſmall, the angel being 6s. 8d. Yet in the then ſcarcity of money the portion might equal 100,000l. of modern currency.

1503 No ſooner was the agreement of marriage concluded, than the commiſſioners proceeded to a yet more important negotiation. On the twenty-fourth of the ſame month of January, 1502, a perpetual peace was concluded between England and Scotland, upon the following terms [8].

1. In all times to come there ſhall be an inviolable peace between the two kings, their heirs, and lawful hereditary ſucceſſors; and their dominions, and ſubjects of every denomination.

2. Neither of the ſaid kings, nor of their ſucceſſors, ſhall favour rebels againſt each other, but ſhall impriſon, and deliver them up, if in their power.

3. All ſafe-conducts, or promiſes of protection, granted by either king to ſubjects of the other, of whatever rank, ſhall be recalled; and never renewed except by conſent of their own ſovereign, and even in that caſe for one year only.

4. If either king be attacked, the other ſhall aſſiſt him with as many forces, and as often, as required, provided that the aſſiſting troops be paid by the monarch aſſailed: nor ſhall any former league be urged as an obſtacle to this agreement.

5. The Scotiſh king ſhall not moleſt, nor beſiege, the town, or caſtle, of Berwick; nor ſhall their inhabitants diſturb the Scotiſh ſubjects.

6. The allies of both kings to be comprehended, if they chuſe; namely the kings of the Romans, France, Spain, Denmark, and the archduke of Auſtria, for both; Venice, Ferrara, Savoy, the Hanſe Towns, for England: Alſace, Cleves, Brandenburg, for Scotland: their conſent to be notified within eight months, elſe they ſhall be regarded as excluded: and

[8] Rymer, XII, 793—798.

either

either king may aſſiſt his ally, if attacked by the other; but not 1503
by an invaſion of each other's dominions.

7. No violation of this treaty, by the ſubjects of either realm, ſhall be conſtrued a deciſive infringement; but in caſe of a delay of redreſs by either monarch, he whoſe ſubjects are injured may grant repriſals, either by land or ſea, according to the wrong.

8. The death of James, or Margaret, before marriage, ſhall not fruſtrate this pacification, except either of the kings or their heirs ſhall notify, within two months after ſuch an event, that he withdraws from the treaty: but even in this caſe the truce of 1499, for the life of the ſurvivor, is to remain in full effect.

9. The ſucceſſors to either kingdom ſhall ratify the alliance, within ſix months after their acceſſion. The contracting kings ſhall ſwear obſervance of this treaty, within three months after the marriage: and, finally, the ſanction of the pontiff to this peace ſhall be obtained before the firſt of July 1503, and the violator ſhall incur excommunication.

Thus was a pacification eſtabliſhed between England and Scotland, being the firſt ſince the year 1332, when Edward III infringed that concluded with Robert I. The nations had ſuffered one hundred and ſeventy years of wars, and dubious truces. Untaught by experience, they were again, in the courſe of ten years, to reſume their antient enmity. It was reſerved till the age of Elizabeth for the Engliſh monarchs to ſecure an influence in Scotland, ſufficient to counterbalance, and overcome, that of France; and this influence was greatly indebted to the proteſtant faith. Centuries of diſappointment had elapſed before England diſcovered how much the arts of policy are ſuperior to force, and as in theſe France excelled, it is no wonder that her influence long preponderated. Nor need it

1503 be diſguiſed, in an age when patriotiſm is a ſpecies of merchandize, that half the ſums expended by England in war might have ſecured a perpetual peace: for ſuch are men, that they muſt often be corrupted, before they will purſue their own political deſires, their own intereſts, and thoſe of their country.

To the character of Henry VII cunning more properly belonged, than wiſdom; and even his cunning was often obſtructed by his avarice. Did not human affairs ſo often depend on the caprices of monarchs, it were unworthy of hiſtory to obſerve that this covetous prince ſent to the generous James a ſchedule of the allotments, to be paid to the ſervants of his daughter. James ſmiled, and aſſented[9]. Henry alſo obtained his requeſt, that the ratification of the league with France, which had not been as uſual repeated upon the acceſſion of Louis XII in the year 1498, ſhould be delayed[1]: but James ſolemnly proteſted againſt Henry's uſing the title of king of France in their negotiation[2].

At length, after a number of tedious formalities, the royal bride, now in her fourteenth year, proceeded to Scotland, and, by a ſpecial favour, rather before the time affixed. Her father accompanied her from the palace of Richmond to Colliweſton, in Northamptonſhire; where he delivered her to the care of the earl of Surrey, who, with a noble and magnificent retinue, attended her journey, and was to preſent a blooming bride to James, whom he afterwards defeated and ſlew. In their progreſs they were met by the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Durham, Northumberland, Dacre, and other peers, who accompanied the cavalcade to Lambertonkirk, a place a little to the north of Berwick. Here the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and

[9] Rymer, XIII, 12. [1] Ibid. [2] Ib. 43.

the

the earl of Morton, with a pompous train, received the bride, 1503
and conducted her to Dalkeith; whither James ſoon proceeded,
and whence in a few days ſhe made her ſolemn entry into Edinburgh. The ſcenes of ſplendour which enſued were worthy of the occaſion, and of an age of chivalry [3]. The gorgeous tournaments were invigorated by the valour, and graced by the beauty, of both nations. James himſelf, emulous of novelty, appeared in the character of the ſavage knight, attended by highlanders and borderers, who interchanged real wounds and diſguſted the ſpectators with bloody paſtime: but the king, as Buchanan remarks, had no occaſion to regret the wounds, or the death, of marauders inimical to law and order. Arthur, and his knights of the round table, ſo familiar to the latter ages of chivalrous fable, alſo adorned the liſts with their ideal perſonages. The ſolemnity of this marriage had been appointed ſo long before, that even foreigners attended the feſtival: and among theſe was diſtinguiſhed a French knight, Anthony D'arcy de la Baſtie, who was afterwards warden of the marches of Scotland, till he met with a cruel fate [4]. Succeſſive days

[3] Young's account, Lel. IV, 258, ſeq. Surrey, with the archbiſhop of York, and biſhop of Durham, remained till the termination of the feſtivals. See alſo Leſley, 342. Buch. XIII, 21. Drummond, 133, 134.

[4] Drummond, 133. A ſtrange confuſion with regard to this warrior appears in our writers. Guthrie ſagely baptizes him De la Beauté, though the Epiſt. Reg. Scot. repeatedly indicate all his names.

The moſt eminent of the Scotiſh knights was Sir Patrick Hamilton, apparently legitimate brother of Arran, though unknown to Douglas, and our other inaccurate genealogiſts. Lindſay, 161, 187, 188, &c. repeatedly calls him brother of Arran; and particularly p. 162, explains his affinity with the king. That he was a legitimate brother is confirmed by Leſley, 394, Buchanan, XIV, 12, Young in his account, and Benoit André, Julius A. III, Jan. 1508, May, ib. Nay in April 1498 appears a charter to Patrick Hamilton, *brother german* of James lord Hamilton. Scotſt. Cal. This celebrated man, who would do honour

1503 days of pleaſure were diverſified with public ſhews, the feaſt, the carouſal, and the dance. The Engliſh added to the entertainments the exhibition of thoſe rude interludes called moralities [5]: nor were the Scotiſh muſes ſilent, for Dunbar, a poet of deſerved reputation, celebrated the nuptials in an allegory of no mean beauty, intituled the Thiſtle and the Roſe. The gueſts were at length permitted to depart, ſatiated with pomp and pleaſure, with royal generoſity, and Scotiſh hoſpitality.

1504 11 Mar. A parliament aſſembled at Edinburgh, being the laſt worthy of notice in this reign; but which deſerves immortal reputation, from the prudence, and public ſpirit, of its decrees; the important tendency of which towards national improvement, and civilization, may well attract the utmoſt attention of the hiſtorian [6].

Among

honour to any family, was ſlain in 1520, (ſee reign of James V.) He was, if not by a former marriage, the ſecond ſon of James ſecond lord Hamilton, by Mary ſiſter of James III. His father died in 1479, (Douglas, 330;) *his brother* was created earl of Arran 13th Aug. 1503, ſays Young, who was preſent, and who adds that Montroſe and Glencairn were alſo then created, the latter title had therefore been aboliſhed in 1488 with other conceſſions of James III; the patent of lord Graham of Kincardine, as earl of Montroſe, appears not till 3d March 1504. Douglas 483.

In 1491 Scotſtarvet records, the confirmation of a charter 1473, to John, *Patrick*, and David Hamiltons *baſtard* ſons of James lord Hamilton of the lands of Candore, Draphan, &c. But this Patrick muſt not be confounded with the former, who called James, natural ſon of Arran his brother, a baſtard in contempt, (Lindſay, 188,) a term he would hardly have uſed had he been one himſelf. Scotſtarvet in Jan. 1513, mentions a charter to Arran, his only natural ſon Sir James Hamilton of Finnart; then to Arran's *brothers* Sir Patrick Hamilton, of Kincavel, and John Hamilton of Broomhill; and a legitimation to theſe three "my lord's baſtards."

[5] Young's account. The John Ingliſh and his companions, who acted moralities, was ſurely the "Johannes and his company," who attended Margaret from Colliweſton.

[6] Acts, f. 102—110. The date further appears from the confirmation of the endowed lands to Margaret, iſſued in this parliament, Rymer, XIII, 92; and from

Among the numerous ſtatutes of this celebrated parliament, 1504
the moſt intereſting are thoſe calculated to diſſipate the barbariſm of the highlands and iſles. John, lord of the Iſles, had been deprived of the earldom of Roſs in the year 1476, as before related, and that earldom was irrecoverably annexed to the crown: but, in 1480, that deſpot had entered into negotiations with England, and was ſummoned by the Scotiſh parliament to anſwer for his conduct. The ſucceeding commotions of the weak reign of James III prevented any further procedure: but James IV was no ſooner arrived at complete majority, and capable of revoking any imprudent conceſſion of his father, than a forfeiture of the Iſles was iſſued againſt John, as appears from many charters under the great ſeal, between the years 1490 and 1498[7]. Angus, natural ſon of John, had been declared heir of the Iſles in the royal grant of 1476, if his father had no legal iſſue[8]: and Donald, a natural ſon of Angus, uſurping the title of lord of the Iſles, he, with Maclean and other abettors, were forfeited in 1503[9]. Thus at length the Hebudes became the indiſputable property of the crown; an event of great importance, and, after the vain efforts of many monarchs, reſerved for the preſent reign.

The parliament therefore exerted its earlieſt efforts to introduce law, and civilization, into the unhappy highlands and iſles: and the firſt ſtatute for this ſalutary purpoſe is conceived

from the roll, Carm. Tracts, 91. Granger, with his wonted confuſion and inaccuracy, dates it March 1503, unaware of the change of ſtyle. Guthrie follows as uſual.

[7] Scotſt. Cal. The firſt that occurs is of Aug. 1493: the revocation of James in parliament was of June that year. No new cauſe of forfeiture appears.

[8] Dougl. Peer. 362.

[9] Ibid. and in Oct. 1505 the forfeiture of Torgil Macleod appears, for aſſiſting Donald baſtard of Angus, baſtard of John. Carm. Tracts, 85.

in

1504 in the following terms. "Becauſe there has been great abuſe of juſtice in the northern and weſtern parts of the realm, particularly the northern and ſouthern iſles [1], for want of *juſtice-air's*, juſtices, and ſheriffs, by which defect the people are almoſt become ſavage [2]; it is therefore ordained, in the deſign of reſtoring their tranquillity by the adminiſtration of juſtice, that there be in future juſtices and ſheriffs appointed for theſe parts in the manner following. That the juſtices and ſheriffs of the northern iſles have their courts at Inverneſs, or at Dingwall, as the ſituation of the ſuit, and parties, may demand: and that another juſtice or ſheriff be appointed for the ſouthern iſles, and neighbouring region, whoſe court ſhall be held in the Tarbat of Loch Kinkeran, upon every due occaſion [3]." The next act decrees that thoſe parts of the highlands called Dowart and Glentowart, lying between Lorn and Badenoch, and the lordſhip of Lorn, all which had been unaccuſtomed to acknowledge any courts of juſtice, ſhould attend thoſe held at Perth: that, of the other parts, Argyle, Mawmor, and Lochaber, which were in the like predicament, the two latter ſhould follow the courts of Inverneſs, the former thoſe of Perth, where juſtice was to be adminiſtered in ſuits between highlanders and lowlanders, and where a ſpecial judge for Argyle was to reſide. The inhabitants of part of Cowal, not comprehended in Argyle, were to attend at Dunbarton: and thoſe of Knapdale and Kintyre were to join the people of Bute, Arran, and Cumbra, in their attendance at Air or Rothſay. By another ſtatute [4] it is ordained that all the ſubjects, and eſpecially thoſe

[1] That is the Orkneys, and *Sudoreys* (or Hebudes), ſo called by the Norwegians as being to the ſouth of their poſſeſſions.

[2] "Almaiſt gane wyld." Acts, f. v. 102, c. 93.

[3] Campbell-town afterwards aroſe upon the ſpot.

[4] Acts, f. 106, c. 114; c. 79 in Murray's edition.

of

of the iſles, be ruled by the ordinances and common law of the realm, and by no other legiſlation. As the ſheriffdom of Inverneſs had hitherto extended its juriſdiction over Roſs and Caithneſs, an impotent amplitude ariſing from the inattention of the two latter provinces to legal adminiſtration, a ſheriff is appointed for Roſs, to hold his courts in Tain or Dingwall; and another for Caithneſs to adminiſter juſtice at Dornock or Wick [5]. 1504

Such were the ſtatutes formed to introduce law and order into the iſles and highlands; godlike efforts, and before which the triumphs of war ſink into contempt! The firſt real acquiſition of the weſtern iſles, effected by the reigning monarch, excited attention not only to their political ſituation, but to that of the highlands, a great part of which had been ſubject to the lords of the iſles; and other portions to chiefs, who either affected a ſavage independence, or from conſanguinity, friendſhip, protection, intereſt, or language, were led to regard the powerful ſucceſſors of the inſular kings as their only ſovereigns. By the ruin therefore of that deſpotic family not only the weſtern iſles, but the highlands, became for the firſt time really ſubject to the Scotiſh government, as the above acts plainly evince. The acquiſition of the Hebudes by Alexander III was that of the nominal ſuperiority; the conqueſt of Argyle by Robert I was fugitive and vain. In the fifteenth century the Stuarts having acquired Lorn by marriage [6], and the

[5] But no courts appear for Sutherland and Strathnavern, the wild north-weſt extremity of Scotland.

[6] John Stuart of Innermeath married the heireſs of John de Argyle, lord Lorn; and appears as lord Lorn in 1404. Douglas, 415. About 1470 the lands, and title, paſſed to Campbell earl of Argyle. Ib. 416.

The genealogy of the lords of the Iſles would require a far more ſkilful hand than Douglas, who confounds the appellation *De Ila* (of Ilay) with that

1504 the Campbells of Lochaw being created earls of Argyle, the power and poſſeſſions of the lords of the iſles were by theſe, and other circumſtances, gradually weakened, till at laſt they were annihilated. But the patriotic efforts of this parliament had little influence over a deeply rooted barbariſm. The effectual improvement of the highlands and iſles was reſerved for the eighteenth, and the following centuries: may it proceed, may it proſper, may thoſe regions become the choſen abodes of induſtry, of art, of opulence; and may fortune recompenſe the inhabitants, ſo long to be claſſed among the moſt uninduſtrious, uncivilized, ſlaviſh, and unhappy, of mankind, by every accumulation of liberty and felicity.

Other ſtatutes of this remarkable parliament are not unworthy of hiſtorical commemoration. It was ordained that a council ſhould ſit daily for the adminiſtration of juſtice, as the periods, in which the lords of ſeſſion ſat, were found too brief for that purpoſe: that the greateſt crime ſhould always be ſpecified in remiſſions, and not veiled under a general pardon for ſmaller offences: that no forgiveneſs ſhould be granted for deliberate murder: that notaries ſhould be examined, and ſeverely puniſhed if guilty of falſehood: that, as "the wood of Scotland was utterly deſtroyed," becauſe the fine in that caſe was ſo ſmall, the penalty of five pounds ſhould be incurred for felling, or burning, green wood in future; and that every lord,

of *De Iſle*, (of the Iſles.) The ſucceſſion of Argyle and Lorn is peculiarly indiſtinct. Barbour, b. iii, v. 1, 659; x, 123—130; xv, 305—310, affords paſſages quite irreconcileable with the careleſs compilation of Douglas. Barbour's John of Lorn died in priſon, XV, 310; and the iſles paſſed, or were aſſigned by Robert I, to a new branch, Angus of Ilay, (N° VI in Douglas,) called ANGUS LORD OF ILAY, and Bute by Barbour, XI, 334. His ſon John of Ilay, in 1354, enters into an agreement with JOHN OF LORN lord of Argyle, (Davidſon's Tracts, Edin. 1771, 4to, p. 29,) perhaps the ſon of Barbour's John. The heireſs of the laſt John wedded Stuart.

and

and land-holder, ſhould plant at leaſt one acre of wood, if there were no great wood nor foreſt upon his eſtate: they are alſo required to form parks repleniſhed with deer, and to make ponds, rabbit-warrens, dovecots, orchards, and hedges[7]. This ſtatute is not a little ſingular in the goodneſs of its intention, and at the ſame time, in its negligence of the rights of liberty and property: but, as no penalty is mentioned, it may rather be regarded as a public and royal advice. Decrees of this national aſſembly alſo bear that, for the preſervation of armour, there ſhould be diſplays of weapons through all Scotland annually, upon thurſday in whitſuntide week: that one ſtandard of weights and meaſures ſhould be obſerved: that no diſtraint ſhould be allowed of the animals, or inſtruments, of agriculture, if any other effects could be found: that the inhabitants of lands, united to new baronages, ſhould attend the courts of juſtice to which theſe baronages owed ſuit: that the provoſts and baillies of burghs be changed yearly; and that none bear municipal offices except thoſe who trade in the burgh: that the burghs, and the merchants, ſhould enjoy their ancient privileges, "granted by our ſovereign lord's progenitors, of moſt noble mind," an emphatical expreſſion, not unuſed in former ſtatutes. The parliament declares that it ſhall be lawful for the king to let all his lands *in feu*; and that, for the improvement of the country, all other lords and land-holders, ſpiritual and temporal, may follow the ſame mode. This kind of tenure firſt appears in the acts of 1457: the vaſſal was exempted from military ſervice, and was only bound to pay a rent in money, or grain, with ſome agricultural offices to the 1504

[7] Acts, f. v. 105, c. 109, Murray's edition, c. 74, "anent *policie* to be halden in the cuntrie," that is rural *regulation*: hence ſeems to have ariſen the Scotiſh term *policy* for parks and pleaſure-grounds, a metonymy of the word in the ſtatute.

1504 lords; ſo that the cultivation of the country was by this practice greatly promoted[8]. A general revocation by the king, not only of all grants and gifts, but of all acts of the parliament or general council, prejudicial to the catholic church, his ſoul, or his crown, cloſes the ſtatutes of this year. This ſingular revocation might occaſion many reflections on its cauſes, and on the new power aſſumed by the ſovereign, in the extinction of acts of parliament: but it would be vain to draw principles of government from ſtatutes perpetually at variance on this ſubject, and indeed formed in an age ignorant of its nature. It may however be remarked that this revocation can hardly refer to the famous act of 1489, authorizing the ſlaughter of James III, as ſome ſuppoſe; for the king adds that he has commanded all ſuch acts, as fell within his revocation, to be cancelled; whereas the act of 1489 was faithfully preſerved, and is printed in the firſt edition of the ordinances of the Scotiſh parliaments.

Notwithſtanding the particularity with which the tranſactions of this parliament have been conſidered, and for which their intereſting nature affords a ſufficient apology, there yet remain three ſtatutes which muſt not be paſt in ſilence. One of theſe enforces the obſervance of the former acts, concerning the veſſels to be employed in the fiſhery; but ſtill it appears not that any effect enſued. The two others relate to the conſtitution of parliament. By the firſt it is ordained that no baron, freeholder, nor vaſſal, whoſe revenue amounted to leſs than one hundred marks of the new extent, eſtabliſhed in 1424, ſhould be compelled to perſonal attendance in parliament, except by ſpecial mandate from the king, provided they ſent repreſentatives; but all poſſeſſed of an income, exceeding the

[8] Erſkine's Principles of Scotiſh law, 8vo, book ii, tit. 4, § 2.

above

above ſum, are bound to attend the parliament under the ancient penalty [9]. The ſecond is expreſſed in theſe terms: "It is enacted that the commiſſioners, and chief men, of burghs, be warned when taxes or contributions are given, in order to have their advice therein, as one of the three eſtates of the realm [1]." It ſhall only be here obſerved that theſe acts teſtify the vague, and unſettled, nature of parliamentary repreſentation, at this period. 1504

The nuptial treaty, and perpetual pacification, with England, appear to have been paſſed with a ſingular negligence, on the part of France. Louis XII, occupied ſucceſſively with the wars of Milan and Naples, could expect little aſſiſtance from Scotland in ſuch diſtant campaigns: and the diſpoſition of Henry VII afforded no reaſon for France to expect any neceſſity of the uſual Scotiſh interference in a war with England. The new ſcene of politics opened to France in the Italian wars, and the ſettled peace between that kingdom and England, ſeem to have induced ſuch neglect of her Scotiſh ally, that the confederation had not been renewed; nor, as appears, even an embaſſy ſent ſince the acceſſion of Louis XII. Perhaps the amicable diſpoſition of James III towards England, and the dubious politics of his youthful ſucceſſor, contributed to this indifference: but at length Louis, having loſt the kingdom of Naples, became ſenſible of the value of allies; and, to compenſate his negligence, in this, or perhaps the preceding, year, ſent an embaſſador of high rank and fame, Bernard Stuart

[9] F. 106, c. 113. Concerning the new extent of 1424 conſult Home lord Kaims, Hiſt. Law Tracts, p. 416, ſeq. This ſtatute rather tended to enlarge the prerogative; but at the ſame time it muſt be conſidered that attendance on parliament was hardly then eſteemed a privilege, but rather as a conſtrained duty, and great hardſhip.

[1] F. v. 106, c. 120.

lord

1504 lord Aubigny, the conqueror and governor of Naples in 1501; but who had ſince been, by his precipitance at the battle of Seminara fought on the 21ſt of April 1503, the chief cauſe that the Spaniards gained from France that flouriſhing kingdom[2]. The purpoſes of this embaſſy do not authentically appear, but it may well be conjectured that the renewal of the alliance, and perhaps a procraſtinated, and ineffectual, attempt to detach Scotland from Engliſh influence, were the chief objects in view[3]. Aubigny's warlike reputation, and exploits, celebrated over Europe, warmly intereſted the king; who uſed to place the veteran at his own table, and, appointing him the judge of his tournaments, added the high appellation of Father of War[4].

[2] Guicciardini, lib. V. Aubigny was governor of Naples along with Gilbert de Bourbon duke of Monpenſier. Jaligny hiſt. de Charles VIII, Paris 1684, folio. For his actions conſult Guicciardini, Auton hiſt. de Louis XII, a Godefroy, Paris 1620, 4to, p. 307, 309, &c. Jaligny and other writers. His titles were lord of Aubigny, count de Beaumont, Roger et Bonafre, counſellor and chamberlain to Louis XII, knight of his order, captain of his guard, conſtable general of Naples. Dunbar ballad to Aubigny, 1504, Scot. Poems, London 1792, Vol. III, p. 136; perhaps the poem was written on his third embaſſy, 1508, in which year it was printed. The noble family of Lennox, Darnley, Aubigny, deſerves particular attention as being, after Mary's reign, the PATERNAL anceſtry of the royal line, or in other words the royal branch itſelf.

Had Aubigny been in Scotland in 1503, it is impoſſible that he could have remained unnoticed in the minute accounts of the royal marriage. But this ſecond embaſſy, (ſee 1484,) in which he was accompanied by Sellat, a French doctor of laws, is often mentioned in the Epiſt. Reg. Scot. Edin. 1722, 8vo, Vol. I, p. 71, (a letter of 1506,) p. 73, &c. Aubigny was now advanced in years. John Stuart, firſt lord, was ſlain in 1429, and was after a long period ſucceeded by John his ſon; who in 1482 was followed by his ſon the celebrated Bernard. The title was afterwards held by Robert, and John, two younger ſons of the houſe of Lennox, &c. Stew. Gen. 152, 153, 154. The genealogy of this intereſting family is indebted to the recent labours of Andrew Stuart, eſq.

[3] From the references to this embaſſy above ſtated, and Epiſt. R. S. I, 115, the firſt mentioned purpoſe is evinced.

[4] Lindſay, 163.

James

James continued to cultivate the amity of England, by interfering with the duke of Gelderland, his relation and ally, in order to prevent that prince from affording aid, or protection, to Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, a repreſentative of the houſe of York, who had been engaged in rebellion againſt Henry VII [5]. The Scotiſh monarch, with a laudable ambition, had begun to improve, or rather to create, a maritime power; and as appears from the valuable and elegant epiſtles, written at his command by Patrick Panter, a man of eminent prudence, and literature, the marine affairs of Scotland attracted a conſiderable ſhare of the royal attention [6]. From Louis XII James required compenſation for the loſs ſuſtained by Robert and John Bartons, a name celebrated in the annals of Scotiſh navigation; who having proceeded with two ſhips to annoy the Engliſh, during the war of 1497, their veſſels had been ſtopped on the coaſt of Bretagne by the people of that country, and one of them ſeized [7]. To the magiſtrates of Dantzic, who ſent a ſimilar repreſentation to James, and threatened reprizals on the Scotiſh veſſels which viſited the ſhores of the Baltic, the anſwer of the king is ſpirited yet equitable [8]. In the end of this year Alexander lord Home, who was much entruſted by James, died; and was ſucceeded 1505

[5] Epiſt. Reg. Scot. I, 11—16.

[6] Ib. 16, 17, 19. This elegant collection recalls to memory the epiſtles of Caſſiodorus, dictated by Theodoric. It is to be regreted that Ruddiman, the editor, did not compare the MS. of the firſt volume, 1505—1524, in the royal library of England, 13 B. II, whence he might not only have corrected ſome errors, but have enlarged the work one third part, by letters omitted in his MS. The ſecond volume, 1539—1545, (the intermediate volume, 1525—1538, is loſt,) might have been equally improved by a collation with the MS. 18 B. VI, which, in addition to the latin epiſtles, contains numerous letters in Engliſh, unknown to Ruddiman.

[7] Epiſt. R. S. I, 17. [8] Ibid. 19.

by

1505 by his ſon Alexander in his office of chamberlain, and in the royal favour [9].

1506 The power of Scotland, and her influence in the general concerns of Europe, were carried to a great extent, during this reign of an able and beloved monarch. James had warmly interceded with the emperor, and many other potentates, in behalf of Charles duke of Gelderland, who was almoſt overwhelmed by the unjuſt claims, and ambition, of the houſe of Auſtria. Philip king of Caſtille, and archduke of Auſtria, had, to the firm ſupport of his father Maximilian the emperor, united the promiſed aſſiſtance of England in favour of his pretenſions [1]. But James, by his remonſtrances to his father-in-law, prevented this deſign; and ſent Robert Forman dean of Glaſgow, and the lion-king-at-arms, to inform the duke of Gelderland of his ſucceſs; to require the interference of France, and to negotiate with Maximilian [2]. The houſe of Auſtria was prevented by France from effectuating its deſign; and did not acquire Gelderland *till more than thirty years* after this period, when Charles died without iſſue [3].

The affairs of Sweden preſented another ſphere of exertion to James. That kingdom, excited by the adminiſtrator Suanto Sture, was in a ſtate of open rebellion againſt its Daniſh ſovereigns. To protect the cauſe of his ally, John king of Denmark Norway and Sweden, the Scotiſh monarch diſpatched letters of conciliation to the archbiſhop of Upſal, and the Swediſh ſenate; and to the people of Lubeck, who were about to aſſiſt

[9] Douglas Peer. 345. Elder writers had erroneouſly ſuppoſed the chamberlain of 1488 to have been him who was executed in 1516.

[1] Epiſt. R. S. I, 21, 30—34.

[2] Ibid. 40—51. The title of king of the Romans, given to Maximilian, aroſe from his not having been crowned at Rome. See L'Art de Verifier les Dates, p. 451.

[3] Miræi Chron. Belg. Antv. 1636, folio, p. 304, 305.

the

the Swedes. Theſe letters breathe the uſual regal ſpirit, but at the ſame time are models of elegance and force: they abound with ſalutary maxims, and even preſent rude features of a reſpect for liberty. James allows that an unjuſt king may be oppoſed by recourſe to arms, provided that he had firſt been warned, in a national council, to reform his errors, and had rejected the advice of his people. To lend more effectual aid to John, a Scotiſh ſquadron ſailed to the Baltic; but returned without any achievement, as the ſucceſs of the Daniſh arms rendered the aſſiſtance at that time unneceſſary [4]. Though this conteſt between Denmark and Sweden continued for many years, it does not appear that Scotland uſed any further active exertion: the diſtance of the ſcene, and the perilous navigation of the Baltic, conſpired with the prolonged and indeciſive nature of the war, to render the aſſiſtance of the Scots moſt injurious to themſelves, and of little advantage to their ally. 1506

In the courſe of this year James alſo ſent an embaſſy to France, to treat concerning the articles formerly brought by Aubigny. He likewiſe requeſted the permiſſion of Louis XII, to have wood and ſhip-builders from France, in order to enlarge his navy [5]. This was a favourite, and laudable, purſuit of James, during the latter part of his reign; but which, with his other magnificent expenditure, contributed to embarraſs

[4] Epiſt. R. S. 34, 51. The ſquadron appears from the letter of James to Chriſtina queen of Denmark, ib. 69, 70. Mallet mentions that Steno Sture, the predeceſſor of Suanto, had been conſtrained by the papal nuncio to ſet that princeſs at liberty in 1504. Abr. de l'hiſt. de Dann. I, 173.

After epiſt. 27 appears in the MS. a letter to Anne of France, ſent by Rothſay herald, notifying the birth of a prince, who however ſoon after died.

[5] Epiſt. R. S. 70, 39. The envoys were Dunbar archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Antony d'Arcy de la Baſtie.

1506 his finances. To ſave the diſgrace of a reduction in his diſburſements, he now projected a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; a deſign congenial to his natural ſuperſtition, which was increaſed by his apparent guilt in the death of his father [6]. The feſtivals, and ſplendid amuſements, of James were interſperſed with pilgrimages to the ſhrines of ſaints, in various parts of his realm: from the gayety of his court, enlivened with the charms of Engliſh and Scotiſh beauty, he would often retire to the gloom of a monaſtery; and the warrior ſhared, with the Franciſcan friar, the favour of the king. The ridicule of Dunbar the poet, who was himſelf a debauched ſaint, teſtifies that the age was not ſo rude, as to be inſenſible of this inconſiſtency [7].

It appears that the intereſt of the Scotiſh monarchs had favoured the powerful family of O Donnel in the north of Ireland, in their conteſts with other Iriſh chiefs, and with the Engliſh [8]. In ſome diſpute of the former claſs, Aod or Hugh O Donnel

[6] See the cloſe of the epiſtle to O Donnel p. 64. Compare Buch. XIII, 23.

[7] Leſley, 344, 345, narrates the royal pilgrimages to St. Ninian's in Galloway, and St. Duthac's in Roſs. Letters of James in favour of the Franciſcan friars, whoſe ſpecial patron he declares himſelf, occur Epiſt. 23—29. See Dunbar's poems, "How Dunbar was deſyrit to be ane friar," "Dirge on the king's retirement at Stirling," &c. in lord Hailes's collection, Edin. 1770, and the Maitland Poems, London, 1786. The influence permitted by James IV to this firſt order of jeſuits excited the enmity of his ſucceſſor, and the latin ſatire, Franciſcanus, of Buchanan.

[8] In the Epiſt. R. S. 63 the name is ſpelled *Odompneil*; but from ſubſequent intercourſe of James IV and V, with this family, (ſee 1531, &c.) it is certain that the O Donnels of the north of Ireland are implied. In Scotſtarvet's Calendars, at the end of this reign, appears a letter from James to Odo *Odoneil*, 25 June 1513, aſſuring him of protection, and aid, with men and ſhips if neceſſary, on account of the faithful ſervice to the Scotiſh king, by the chiefs of the *Connels*, (O Donnels?) and lately by Odo Odoneil, father to this Odo, the king's couſin, in defence

O Donnel now requeſted the aſſiſtance of four thouſand high- 1506
landers: and entreated the king to prohibit the clan Mac Donald, from aſſiſting their enemies [9]. The anſwer of James is dilatory and dubious; and to the remonſtrance of the Iriſh chief, who being apprehenſive that the abſence of James might leave his foes at perfect freedom to act againſt him, had requeſted the king not to leave his dominions, a reply is given, ſhewing a fixed reſolution to engage in the holy pilgrimage; which however was never undertaken [1].

The warlike pontiff Julius II ſent an embaſſador to James, 1507
with a conſecrated hat and ſword, as ſpecial marks of his re- March
gard. In return the king flattered Julius with the vain tidings, received from Denmark, that Ruſſia, her ally, deſired to accede

fence and offence, and in taking a tenure of his lands from the kings of Scotland. Hence Odonnel is termed *ſubditus* in this letter. An Uchtred O Donnel of Kircudbright appears in the year 1516. Ib. Ware Ant. Hib. p. 216 mentions Odo Odonel the Red, of the county of Donagal, under the year 1473. *Drumnangail* it is believed is Donagal.

[9] An action at Armagh, between the Mac Donalds of Scotland and the *O Neils*, in 1501, is recorded by Ware Ann. H. VII, p. 75. Odonnel had requeſted James to ſend John, ſon of Alexander Mackeane, (or Mackay, ſee 1532,) as leader of the 4000. A palpable chaſm in the genealogy of the Mackays, Dougl. Peer. 569, may hence be ſupplied.

[1] Leſley's hiſtory, infinitely ſuperior to that of Buchanan, begins at the year 1500 to be very ample and curious: and from it a few events of little moment may here be annotated. Under the year 1505 Leſley mentions the law of recognition, which giving offence was abandoned by James. In 1506 James proceeded on a circuit of juſtice. After his return, embarking in a large ſhip built by his orders, his excurſion of pleaſure nearly terminated in ſhipwreck. But when Leſley dates the firſt arrival of D'Arcy in 1506, he errs: and his title of protector of the faith, given by the pope to James, 1507, is a mere invention: nor are any heretics mentioned of the reign of James IV. The original letters evince both the errors.

In Feb. 1506 a parliament met, but its tranſactions Carm. 85—88 are chiefly private: they terminate the extracts by Sir James Balfour, publiſhed by Carmichael.

1507 to the latin church; and that the Daniſh monarch intended to ſend miſſionaries into that empire [2]. To Louis XII James now engaged to furniſh four thouſand auxiliaries for his Italian wars; but the French king having regained Genoa with unexpected facility, declined the aid, with many profeſſions of gratitude [3].

If we believe our hiſtorians, the people of Holland, at this time ſubject, with moſt other provinces of the Netherlands, to the houſe of Auſtria, incurred the juſt reſentment of James, by plundering ſome Scotiſh ſhips, and throwing the merchants and mariners into the ſea. As this offence was piratical, no remonſtrance ſeems to have been made by James, who ſuddenly diſpatched Barton in a large ſhip of war: that ſpirited officer ſoon effected a retaliation, ſent many cheſts loaded with the heads of the pirates to the Scotiſh court, and returned with no ſmall booty and renown [4].

However this be, it appears from an epiſtle of the king to the emperor Maximilian, that Robert Barton was ſeized with his ſhip, the Lion at Campvere in Zealand, upon a remonſtrance of the Portugueze, one of whoſe veſſels he had taken. James explains the reaſon of this capture, which was that, in the year 1476, a Portugueze ſquadron ſeized a ſhip loaded with rich merchandize, commanded by John Barton the father of Robert; in conſequence of which letters of reprizal had been granted, and continued to Andrew, Robert and John Bartons, the ſons of the ſufferer, as no opportunity had occurred of effectuating a retaliation, till this late period [5]. The naval annals of Scotland,

[2] Epiſt. R. S. 82, 85. [3] Ibid. 83, 87. [4] Leſley, 344.

[5] Epiſt. R. S. 88. Campvere, or Vere, is now Ter Veer, five miles north of Middelburg, the ſtaple port of Scotland for ſome centuries. A letter of James to Emanuel king of Portugal, occurs p. 91; and Leſley p. 351 gives a letter

land, are so barren, that even unimportant information of this kind becomes interesting from its rarity. Nor may it be unnecessary to add that, two years after this, Emanuel the fortunate king of Portugal, under whose reign such glorious maritime achievements had been performed by Gama, and others, and such new sources of wealth opened to his king- 1507

letter from James V to the Portugueze king, on the subject, April 1540, (but for Emanuel put John III. 1521—1557.)

In a MS. in the marquis of Lansdown's library, N° 198, f. 129, is a copy of the letters of reprizal, granted by James IV to Andrew, Robert, and John Bartons, sons of John Barton, who was captured by the Portugueze, and to their assignees, to seize all Portugueze ships, till repaid 12,000 ducats of Portugal. Given under the privy seal, and sign manual, the 20th Nov. 1506 of his reign the 19th: witnesses James Forman, William Wood, John Douglas, Makadam, *servitoribus nostris*. Not only John Barton the father, about 1470, but all the sons are noted in our naval annals; and an uncle Andrew seems to have existed, as in the reprizals *Andrew* is styled *the younger*: yet perhaps he was the *youngest* son of John, though first mentioned. In 1510 Andrew Barton *buys lands*; and Robert in Sept. 1511, Scotst. Cal. Nay in 1508 the latter bought Over Barnton, ib. Sir Robert Barton became eminently rich, and was made comptroller of the royal household, in the minority of James V. They in some degree supplied, by Portugueze captures, the want of distant trade; and the blackamoor woman celebrated by Dunbar, (Maitland Poems I, 97,) was among the novelties laid under contribution by the Bartons.

Yet their contemporaries did not hesitate to call them pirates; and the justice of the letters of reprizal, after an interval of thirty years, may be much doubted, both in equity, and in the law of nations. At any rate one prize was sufficient for the injury; and the continuance of their captures, and the repeated demands of our kings, even so late as 1540, cannot be vindicated. Nay these reprizals on Portugal were found so lucrative that, in 1543, Arran the regent gave similar letters to John Barton, grandson of the first John. Epist. R. S. II, 166. These letters bear that Gaspar Apalha was sent to Scotland, in the reign of James V, to have the original cause solemnly tried, and it was given against the Portugueze, who however continued to neglect the payment. Any original documents of the capture by the Portugueze, 1476, would be important, as it led to such great and remote consequences.

In 1563 (Acts, f. v. 179,) Mary formally revoked the letters of marque to the Bartons, because they had been abused into piracy.

dom,

1507 dom, condeſcended to remit an amicable remonſtrance to James againſt theſe reprizals [6].

1508 Jan. The earl of Arran who, with his brother Sir Patrick Hamilton, had in the preceding year paſſed through England into France, without the knowledge or permiſſion of Henry, was met on his return to Kent by Vaughan, an officer of that ſuſpicious monarch. He was at firſt treated with diſtinction, but on his refuſal to take an oath, apparently of fidelity, to Henry, he was committed to the cuſtody of a guard [7].

March To vindicate his conduct on this occaſion, the Engliſh monarch diſpatched an envoy to his ſon-in-law. The embaſſador informed his ſovereign that James was determined that Arran ſhould not take the oath; but he offered to delay the renewal of the league with France, though eagerly ſolicited by the biſhop of Moray, provided that Henry would releaſe Arran [8]. Yet

[6] Epiſt. R. S. I, 103. *Emanuel ſeems juſtly to complain that no previous* application to his juſtice had been made.

[7] Hiſt. H. VII, a Benedicto Andrea Tholoſate, Julius A. III. This part of the work of Benoit André of Tholouſe is the moſt curious, being a diary of the year 1508, which concludes his work. Julius A. IV is only a panegyric of Henry: Dom. A. XVIII commences the hiſtory: but the years 1498—1507 ſeem loſt. Nicolſon refers erroneouſly to Julius, B. XII.

André informs us that Arran had, in 1507, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a duel with De la Baſtie; as his brother, Sir Patrick Hamilton, had in a conflict with another Frenchman. In Jan. 1508, a Scotiſh doctor had commented, at St. Paul's church, on the epiſtles of that apoſtle: ib. In May Sir Patrick Hamilton, a moſt famous knight, vanquiſhed an Iriſh gentleman of eminent ſkill in arms: and in June the biſhop of Moray arrived, to ſolicit Arran's diſcharge; but he left London in July after an ineffectual embaſſy.

From Ayloffe's Calendars, p. 316, it appears that Sir Patrick Hamilton was alſo impriſoned, but permitted, on the 8th Auguſt, to reviſit Scotland, on his oath to return if required; and that James earl of Arran, his brother, became ſurety for him on the 13th Aug.

[8] Minute of a letter from the embaſſador, (Dr. Weſt,) to Henry, no date, Cal. B. VIII, 151. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 28th March, while James was

Yet the affair was protracted, and the earl was not delivered 1508
till near the end of the year.

Meanwhile Aubigny, and another embaſſador, with a train 21 Mar.
of eighty horſe, arrived in England from France, on their journey into Scotland [9]. The renewal of the league was the favourite object of France: but the death of Aubigny, in the enſuing June, appears to have fruſtrated the negotiation [1].

The Scotiſh monarch continued to indulge the ſplendor of his court, in frequent tournaments, and other expenſive amuſements. But his finances were at the ſame time more uſefully employed in architecture, in ſhip-building, and in the importation of excellent breeds of horſes, from various countries, eſpecially Spain and Poland [2]. It is to be regreted that his treaſury was too penurious to ſupply the demands of his munificence: and about this time, inſtigated perhaps by the example of Henry VII, whoſe extortions under the conduct of Empſom and Dudley had become famous, James ventured upon new, and invidious, modes of raiſing money. Among others, by the advice, as is ſaid, of Elphinſton the learned biſhop of Aberdeen, he had recourſe to a plan not a little injurious to the nobility, and land-holders. Some of the feudal uſages of Scotland had, from their ſeverity, fallen into long diſcontinuance: ſuch were, the ſovereign's right to the proceeds of an eſtate, during the minority of a proprietor, who held of the crown, except the neceſſary expences of his maintenance

was at Wigton in Galloway. Much is ſaid concerning Arran's deliverance; and Aubigny was daily expected, but James pretended not to know the intent of his embaſſy. To the propoſition of a meeting, James anſwered that he would not advance farther than the borders. Ib.

[9] André de Tholouſe, ib.

[1] Ibid. Epiſt. R. S. I, 115. Leſley, 347, 348. He died, and was buried, at Corſtorphin near Edinburgh.

[2] See the letters to the kings of theſe countries. Ib. 98, 99.

and

1508 and education: the reſumption of lands by the ſuperior, in caſe of any doubt in the title; or if the vaſſal ſold half the eſtate; or if he allowed two terms to paſs, without preſenting the uſual payment or acknowledgment to his lord. Theſe, and ſimilar dormant claims, were revived by James; and ſuch was his popularity that ſcarce a murmur enſued; but the generoſity of his ſpirit ſoon ſhrunk from theſe extortions, which were diſmiſſed in oblivion [3].

The art of printing, that art which preſerves all the others, was now introduced into Scotland. Nor let the page of hiſtory, deeply indebted for its fidelity and accuracy to that great invention, refuſe to commemorate its progreſs, which is that of knowledge and philoſophy [4].

1509 22 Apr. The death of Henry VII of England occaſioned a deplorable change in the politics of that country, with regard to Scotland, and other kingdoms. Henry VIII, to the uſual ebullition of youth, added a diſpoſition imprudent even to caprice, and haughty even to tyranny. Perpetually deceived by the continental powers, and ever open to new fraud, his reign was one ſcene of error; and would have met with the execration of his people, had not his very vices eſtabliſhed the reformation, and its invaluable advantages, in England. James diſpatched Andrew Forman, biſhop of Moray, with compliments of condolence and congratulation, and with powers to obtain

[3] Leſley, 343, at the year 1505; Buch. XIII, 22. For many minute events of 1508, and the ſubſequent years, the curious reader may conſult Leſley.

[4] Walter Chepman, a diſtinguiſhed citizen of Edinburgh, was the firſt Scotiſh printer. In 1508 he printed many pamphlets, preſerved in one volume in the Advocates Library; and in 1509 the breviary of Aberdeen: after which no evidence of printing in Scotland appears till 1541.

This noble art had paſſed into Denmark in 1480; Sweden 1483: and was even to viſit Iceland in 1529.

a rati-

a ratification of the alliance; which was ſoon after ſolemnly confirmed by the oaths of both monarchs [5]. In the beginning of the following year, Henry alſo renewed the truce with France, upon the model adopted by his father, which bore that it was to continue till one year after the death of the ſurviving king [6]. As almoſt every reign reverſes the maxims of the preceding, ſo it is uſual to defer any great alteration for a ſhort ſpace, that the change may not become dangerous by its ſudden violence; and Henry's conduct towards Scotland continued, for the two firſt years of his reign, apparently amicable. 1509 19 Aug. 28 Nov.

Amid the barrenneſs of important events, it may be permitted to mention the complaint of Margaret ducheſs of Savoy, governeſs of the Netherlands, to James, againſt the capture of ſome veſſels by Andrew and John Bartons, who were afterwards to furniſh one ſource of the fatal diſpute between England and Scotland. But this remonſtrance was erroneous, as is evinced by the anſwer of James: nor had the Engliſh per-

[5] Rymer, XIII, 262, 267. The commiſſion of James, dated 22 July regni 22, may be found in Rymer, X, 376, erroneouſly aſcribed to James I. The Scotiſh king demands a perſonal conference with his brother-in-law, which was refuſed by Henry, who was afterwards repeatedly in vain to ſolicit James V for the ſame purpoſe.

The character of the biſhop of Moray was moſt ſuſpicious, and his preferments in foreign realms ſhew that he had repeatedly ſold his king and country. In 1501, on concluding the marriage treaty, Henry VII gave him the abbey of Cottingham, Keith Biſhops, 86; in the Epiſt. R. S. 110, it is erroneouſly called *Coldingham in Anglia*: Lindſay, 170, values it at 4000 angels a year. The avarice of Henry is well known; and the gift was certainly for ſome ſolid advantage, probably an abatement of the bridal dower. Forman had been protonotary to the infamous Alexander VI, Leſl. 333: and infinite art muſt have been uſed by him in ſecuring the confidence of James, whom he always deceived.

[6] Rymer, XIII, 270.

1509 haps any reaſon to impute acts of piracy to thoſe naval officers[7]. The Scotiſh king continued to cultivate the amity of Julius II, who was now engaged with the emperor, France, and Spain, in the famous league of Cambray, againſt the Venetians: he had prevailed on that pontiff to confirm the donation of the archbiſhopric of St. Andrews, and the abbey of Dunfermline, to Alexander Stuart, his natural ſon, who was ſent to improve his youth in the ſtudies of Padua: and James now entreated the military pope to annex the priory of Coldingham to the abbey of Dunfermline, upon pretence that, as a frontier place, its prior ought to be a perſon of eminent power and ſecure fidelity[8]. This requeſt met with ſucceſs; and tends in ſome degree to exculpate James III from a ſimilar meaſure, concerning that noted priory; but whatever the intentions of that prince were, his conduct upon the occaſion was precipitate, and, with the violent effects of open deſpotiſm, haſtened his unfortunate fate.

1510 The war between John king of Denmark, and his Swediſh ſubjects, ſtill continuing, the Hans Towns, finding their advantageous commerce with Sweden interrupted by the Daniſh corſairs, entered into the conteſt in ſupport of the Swedes. Lubeck, long the chief of the Hans Towns, ſuffered much in this diſpute, from its vicinity to Denmark, and applied to the emperor for his interference. Maximilian requeſted James, as the ally of the Daniſh monarch, to perſuade him to abandon hoſtilities againſt the people of Lubeck, and to ſubmit the difference to the imperial deciſion. The anſwer of James is reſpectful, yet firm: he repreſents that he, and the French king, had formerly mediated between the parties, but that a

[7] Epiſt. R. S. I, 106.

[8] Ibid. 108, 109. Two elegant unprinted epiſtles of Panter to his diſciple, the archbiſhop, at Padua, may be found in the MS. Reg. 13 B. II.

brief

brief reconciliation had been followed by war; that he ſhall not preſume to judge which was the aggreſſor, and, in the uncertain juſtice of the cauſe, he had not ſent any aid to Denmark; that Lubeck had acted haughtily, and, as was reported, had treated the Scotiſh merchants with cruel ſeverity; and that the Daniſh king declined a reference to the imperial judgment, as the people of Lubeck were too perfidious to abide by an equitable deciſion [9]. In the following year a peace was made, by which the Hans Towns were forced to ſacrifice their Swediſh allies [1]. 1510.

The pontiff Julius II had now formed an alliance with the Spaniards againſt the French; and the artful Ferdinand inſtigated Henry VIII, his ſon-in-law, to join in a defenſive confederacy; though he had recently renewed the league with France; as before mentioned [2]. James, probably aware of this tranſaction, made warm profeſſions of friendſhip to Louis XII; from whoſe kingdom, in preference, he demanded permiſſion for his ſubjects to purchaſe ſupplies of grain, unſeaſonable rains having fruſtrated the hopes of the Scotiſh harveſt [3]. The uſeful, and the unneceſſary, arts continued to divide the attention of James: his attachment to alchymy is palliated by his regard to the beſt alchymy of a ſovereign, the diſcovery of the native wealth of his dominions; a foreigner was employed, though with ſmall ſucceſs, in exploring the mines of Scotland for gold [4].

Nor

[9] Epiſt. R. S. I, 112. Mallet, Abr. I, 176.

[1] Mallet, 177, 178.

[2] Herbert's Hiſt. of Henry VIII, ſub anno. Rymer, XIII, 285, &c.

[3] Epiſt. R. S. 117. On the 18th July, apparently this year, James wrote to Henry, deſiring a ſafe-conduct to Errol, to the prior of St. Andrews, ſecretary Panter, and Robert Forman dean of Glaſgow, to paſs to England and abroad. Cal. B. III. 138.

[4] See a curious letter from James, requeſting the loan of ſome books of Alchymy from *Mr.* James Inglis, (apparently the celebrated *Sir* James Inglis, afterwards

1511 Nor did James neglect his laudable cares in promoting the marine of his realm: but, even in this department, he ſometimes ſacrificed utility to ſplendor. The conſtruction of ſmall veſſels, to be employed in the national fiſhery, would have met with more applauſe from a philoſophic hiſtorian, than the fabrication of that enormous ſhip, which, as is reported, Francis I and Henry VIII afterwards laboured in vain to exceed[5]. This celebrated veſſel was called the Great Michael; and was larger, and ſtronger, than any ſhip in the navies of England or France. The oak-foreſts in Fife, excepting that of Falkland, were exhauſted in the conſtruction, though much timber from Norway was alſo employed[6]: the carpenters, Scotiſh and foreign, uſed all diligence, under the frequent inſpection of the king: yet a year and a day were neceſſary to complete the work. Length being ſtill regarded as eſſential to a ſhip of war, while thoſe intended for merchandize were as remarkable for ſhort proportions, the Great Michael boaſted two hundred and forty feet in length, while thirty-ſix meaſured the breadth: but the ſides were not leſs than ten feet thick, and defied the rage of cannon. The expence was eſtimated about ſeven thouſand pounds ſterling of the time, then a very large ſum, excluſive of the artillery. In the rude-

terwards abbot of Culros,) Epiſt. R. S. I, 118. Down to later times *Mr.* and *Sir* imply churchmen only. For the foreign miner ſee Epiſt. 119.

Among ſmaller events, the repeated deaths of the royal children may be found in Leſley; who, under this year, 1510, mentions the travels of the *laird* of Faſtcaſtle, (Cuthbert Home,) to Egypt; and the ſuppreſſion of the border thieves by James.

[5] Lindſay, 167, Buch. XIII, 21.

[6] Scotland had been gradually denuded of wood, partly by the conſtant conflicts of families and clans, in which the woods were deſtroyed to prevent refuge or ambuſcade, and partly, not to mention other cauſes, by domeſtic uſe. In repeated epiſtles James applies to foreign powers for ſupplies of timber. Epiſt. I, 39, to France, 137, to Denmark and Norway.

neſs

neſs of the art few cannon were yet employed, even in the largeſt veſſels; and thoſe of the Great Michael are only eſtimated at thirty-two, with three of inferior ſize[7]: the abundance of ſmall artillery was held to compenſate this defect. The mariners amounted to three hundred, the gunners to one hundred and twenty; and this vaſt ſhip could receive one thouſand warriors. That this large body might not be deſtitute of ſoul, Sir Andrew Wood, and Robert Barton, men eminent in the naval records of Scotland, were among the officers: and from them Lindſay, the hiſtorian, derived the detail above given, ſo that its authenticity appears unqueſtionable. 1511

A new, and greater, ſeries of affairs now opens upon our view, which ſhrinks, when it perceives the approaching ſcene, tinged with the blood, and darkened with the calamities of Scotland. But while hiſtory preſents the record of human miſery, ſhe teaches us to exult that a period has been aſſigned to the diſſentions of two nations, formed for perpetual union.

The war, which was ſoon to ariſe between Henry and James, originated chiefly from the following incident. It has already been related that letters of reprizal had been granted to the Bartons againſt the Portugueze, in revenge of an injury ſuffered above thirty years before; but which the confined maritime

[7] Dr. Weſt in his letter to Henry, 13 April 1513, after quoted, ſays that the Michael had SIXTEEN pieces of great ordinance on *every* ſide. For *ſix* read *ſixteen* in this paſſage of Lindſay, 167, "ſhe bare many cannons, *ſix* on *every* ſide." The word *every* ſurely implies more than two ſides; perhaps poop and prow muſt be included in the antique ſhips of that time, in which caſe the number of large artillery will be ſixty-four. Lindſay adds three *baſſils*, (perhaps very large cannon from *baſiliſcus*;) and, among the ſmall artillery, names *myands*, *battert falcons*, and quarter-falcons, ſlings, *ſerpetens*, *double dogs*, *hagtors* (hagbuts,) culverins, croſs and hand bows.

In 1509 two large ſhips, accoutred for war, had been preſented to James by Louis XII. Leſl. 353.

power

1511 power of Scotland had ſaved from an earlier retaliation. Emanuel, king of Portugal, in vain remonſtrated againſt theſe reprizals for ſo ancient an offence, and in vain offered a judicial examination of the affair, for he had, four years before, diſmiſſed with neglect the Rothſay Herald, eſpecially delegated by James to conciliate the diſpute, and to reſtore the antient amity between the crowns [8]. That juſtice was on the Scotiſh ſide, and that Emanuel, after adding contempt to injury, and finding too late that he was miſtaken in his eſtimate of the naval force of Scotland, had no claim to an amicable procedure, are circumſtances of probable inference: yet there is ſome reaſon to believe that the Bartons abuſed the royal favour, and the diſtance and impunity of the ſea, to convert this retaliation into a kind of piracy againſt the Portugueze trade; at that time, by the diſcoveries and acquiſitions in India, rendered the richeſt in the world. Andrew Barton [9], the brother of Robert and John, with two veſſels, the Lion, a large ſhip of war, and the Jenny Pirwen, an armed ſloop, traverſed the Engliſh ſeas; and interrupted commerce by not only capturing Portugueze veſſels, but by rifling ſome belonging to England, upon pretence of ſearching for Portugueze goods. At leaſt ſuch were the repreſentations of the Engliſh merchants; which had ſuch effect that lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Edward Howard, ſons of the earl of Surrey, and of a family afterwards to be repeatedly fatal to Scotland, were ſent with
July two ſhips to encounter Barton. After an obſtinate and doubtful conflict in the Downs, the death of the Scotiſh commander decided the victory in favour of his antagoniſts: the two

[8] For the miſſion of Rothſay ſee Epiſt. R. S. I, 91; and for the neglect of Emanuel, ib. 120. The demands of James were apparently too high.

[9] The name of this leader, as given by the hiſtorians, is evinced by the Epiſt. R. S. I, 147. The other two brothers were long afterwards celebrated.

Scotiſh

Scotiſh veſſels were brought into the Thames, and retained as lawful prizes, while the crews upon imploring mercy were diſmiſſed. Sir Edward Howard was, in the following year, created lord admiral of England; and Barton's ſhip, the Lion, had the honour of being the ſecond ſhip of war in the Engliſh navy, the Great Harry built in 1504 having been the firſt; for till that time only merchant veſſels had been occaſionally uſed in warlike affairs. James enraged at this loſs, and inſult to the Scotiſh flag, which it had been his favourite ſtudy to advance, diſpatched a herald to the Engliſh court: but the pride of Henry afforded no other anſwer than, that the fate of pirates ought never to be an object of diſpute among princes[1]. 1511

A more minute cauſe of renewed enmity between the nations aroſe upon this ground. Sir Robert Ker, a favourite of James, his chief cup-bearer, maſter of his artillery, and warden of the middle march, having been ſevere in the adminiſtration of the latter office, was ſlain by Heron, Lilburn, and Starked, three Engliſhmen. *Henry VII who then reigned gave up* Lilburn to the Scots, Starked eſcaped: but Heron of Ford, brother of the murderer, was alſo yielded, and impriſoned with Lilburn in Faſtcaſtle, where the latter died. The two other aſſaſſins now beginning to appear, and to excite commotions, as if conſcious of protection in the new reign, Andrew Ker, the ſon of Sir Robert, ſent two of his adherents; and receiving from them the head of Starked, remitted it to be expoſed in

[1] Leſley, 355. Buch. XIII, 27, 28. Herbert's Henry VIII, p. 15, 16. Hall, f. 15. In his letter to the pope, 5 Dec. 1511, James complains of the Engliſh outrages by ſea and land. Epiſt. R. S. I, 123. Yet no evidence remains of remonſtrances to England: the original papers and letters are profoundly ſilent concerning Andrew Barton, whoſe acts of piracy were perhaps proved to James, and his conviction at once abandoned the cauſe. Perhaps it was left to the commiſſioners at the border-meetings.

one

1511 one of the moſt public places of Edinburgh. Thus both courts ſeemed to connive at deeds of open violence [2]. Nor muſt it be omitted that James found another cauſe of complaint, in the refuſal of Henry to deliver a valuable legacy of jewels, which had been left to the Scotiſh queen by her father [3].

Yet Henry, who now joined the pope, the emperor, Spain, and other powers, in an active alliance againſt France, was willing if poſſible to preſerve his dominions from a Scotiſh Nov. war; and ſent embaſſadors to James with offers of ſatisfaction for any violations of the peace [4]. The Scotiſh king perceived the motives, and declined the offer, with ſo much the more ſpirit as an embaſſador had arrived from the court of France, Dec. with liberal preſents and promiſes: and, in his letters to the pontiff, James expreſſes the deepeſt, and moſt determined reſentment at the conduct of the Engliſh monarch [5].

Amid the conſideration of the progreſs of this unhappy diſpute with England, the interference of James in the affairs of Europe muſt not be forgotten. In the endeavour to compoſe the diſſention between the pope and France, an unprecedented object, and which greatly embarraſſed the piety, and politics, of the Scotiſh court, James ſent a commiſſion to his uncle, the duke of Albany, the attainder of whoſe family was perhaps now reverſed, as embaſſador extraordinary to the emperor, in order to requeſt his mediation between Louis and Julius [6]. Andrew Forman, biſhop of Moray, was ſent for the

[2] Buch. XIII, 26.

[3] Our hiſtorians erroneouſly ſay her brother Arthur; but ſee many original letters after quoted.

[4] Rymer, XIII, 309. See alſo his unpubliſhed volumes, N° 4619, art. 19.

[5] Epiſt. R. S. I, 122.

[6] Ibid. 124. From the tranſactions of 1514 it is very doubtful if any reverſal of the attainder yet took place. John the young duke of Albany had wedded a great heireſs in 1505, and was conſidered as ſettled in France; ſo that James probably ſent this commiſſion at the requeſt of Louis.

ſame

ſame purpoſe to France, to the college of cardinals, and to 1511
the marquis of Mantua: and this embaſſador had alſo the honour to paſs as a conciliator between the pontiff and Louis; but without effect[7]. Cordier, a French envoy, proceeded from Scotland to Denmark, in order to influence the Daniſh court: and to the entreaties of Ferdinand of Spain, who wiſhed to engage James in the papal intereſt, it was anſwered by the Scotiſh monarch, and even by his queen, the ſiſter of Henry, that the ſole wiſh of Scotland was to eſtabliſh the peace of chriſtendom[8]. A wiſh amiable but vain: the war between France and the papal allies had commenced in the ſpring of this year; and ſo connected were now the affairs of the moſt diſtant European countries, that the pride of Julius II was to prove a cauſe of the death of the Scotiſh king.

Notwithſtanding the ſymptoms of an approaching rupture 1512
between England and Scotland, theſe kingdoms were to conſume another year in fruitleſs negotiation. Henry wiſhed to ſecure the neutrality of James, before he conducted his forces into France, that England might not be expoſed to the danger of an invaſion, during his abſence: and James, whoſe finances and attention had been diverted to other purſuits, and whoſe ſubjects, during a long peace, had almoſt forgotten their military toils, found it neceſſary to employ ſome time in preparation for war[9].

The

[7] Epiſt. R. S. I, 126, 128, 130. He returned by France and England in ſpring 1512. Leſl. 356. The reader who is deſirous of amuſement may compare the ludicrous fables in Lindſay, 164—166, with the very different page of Guicciardini.

[8] Epiſt. R. S. I, 129, 131, 133.

[9] In March this year James was ſuſpected by Henry of entertaining a deſign againſt Berwick. For it is moſt probable that the letter from Henry to Darcy governor of Berwick, dated 10th March, Cal. B. VI, 75, was written this year,

1512 Easter eve, 10 April The Scotiſh court was enlivened by the birth of a prince [1], who was named James, and was to ſucceed to the crown of his father; two preceding ſons, born in 1507 and 1509, having by premature deaths diſappointed the hopes of their parents, and of the kingdom, which was to labour under a minority, long, and tempeſtuous, beyond any former example.

Amid the commotions of Europe it was thought proper that the aſſiſtance of Denmark, the ally of France and Scotland, ſhould be demanded. For this purpoſe the Carrick herald was 22 April and 28 May ſent to the Daniſh court, with inſtructions to repreſent the hoſtile views of England towards France and Scotland; and to enquire what aid might be expected from their ally [2]. The anſwer of Denmark does not appear; but it was evidently negative or dilatory.

The Engliſh king again ſent an embaſſy to Scotland, to negotiate a reciprocal remiſſion of all offences againſt the pacification; and to require the oath of James for the obſervance of that treaty, while Henry offered a like oath in return [3]. This

as Dacre's letter of 17th May, in all appearance 1514, B. II, 155, bears to have been written two years after James was about to *ſteal* Berwick, when Darcy being too covetous, Dacre was appointed warden of the eaſtern and middle marches. Henry deſires Darcy to reinforce the garriſon, and prepare to attend him with 500 men, "in our voyage to France this ſomer." Sir Ralph Evers (or Eure) had acquitted himſelf well; and Darcy's ſon had done ſervice "at the late voyage againſt the ſaid Scots." Darcy remained governor of Berwick, while Dacre was warden of the marches.

[1] MS. Epiſt. R. S. in bibl. Reg. 13 B. II. In the edition of Ruddiman for *undecimo* read *duodecimo*, that is 1512, as in the MS. See the notes to the ſubſequent reign of James V for other proofs that he was born on the 10th of April 1512.

[2] Epiſt. R. S. I, 146; and ſee the inſtructions to Magnus Bielde, the Daniſh envoy, on his return, ib. 169.

[3] The embaſſadors were lord Dacre, and Dr. Weſt, whoſe ſecond commiſſion is dated 15 April 1512. Rymer, XIII, 332, 333. They reached Edinburgh

This propoſal was fruitleſs. The ratification of the league with France, which had been ſo long delayed from complaiſance to the Engliſh monarchs, was now, at the inſtance of La Motte the French embaſſador, ſolemnly performed by James[4]; who, with the wild ſpirit and generoſity of chivalry, aſſented to a new clauſe, highly dangerous to his own intereſts, and thoſe of his people. It bore, that whereas the former leagues had been directed againſt England, the preſent ſhould infer mutual co-operation, and that perſonal, if the occaſion required, againſt all who may live and die: ſo that Scotland, in the aſſiſtance of France, ſhould now war againſt the pope, the emperor, England, Spain, the Netherlands, Venice, and Switzerland. Much French gold muſt have been expended in procuring this extravagant conceſſion, ſo foreign to every dictate of common 1512 10 July

burgh on the 5th May, Leſley, 357; who adds that their intention was to prevent Robert Barton, and the Scotiſh ſhips, from ſailing, till the Engliſh fleet had proceeded to France. Of the 21ſt May appears a letter from James to Henry, requeſting a ſafe conduct for the biſhop of Moray, to paſs through England for an univerſal peace. Cal. B. VI, f. 8. This Henry refuſed, though the requiſition was repeated by James in July and October. See the letters after quoted.

[4] The preliminaries were ſigned on the part of James at Edinburgh, 6 March 1511—12, regni 24. MS. Leagues, Harl. 1244, ſub anno. The alliance itſelf, with ſome variations from the preliminaries, is ſigned by James 10 July 1512, in preſence of the prelates of St. Andrews and Moray, the earl of Angus, ſecretary Panter, and Gawin Dunbar, ib. The chief variation from the preliminaries is in art. 5, which inſtead of bearing as before, that Scotland ſhall make no treaty with England except France be comprehended or refuſe, now expreſſes that Scotland ſhall make no treaty except by conſent of France. The ratification by Louis XII is of the 12th Sept. 1512, Aberc. II, 526, from the original. His commiſſion for completing the alliance may be found in Cal. B. VI, f. 27; it is dated 22 May 1512.

La Motte appears to have been in Scotland before Chriſtmas 1511. See an account of an entertainment then given, at which the French envoy was preſent, in Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 98.

1512 prudence. The pope, diſpirited with the defeat of his allies in the battle of Ravenna, endeavoured to amuſe Louis and James by the propoſals of a peace, in order to direct the arms of chriſtendom againſt the Turks [5]. The letters to this effect are dated in the beginning of July; and on the twenty-firſt of the ſame month a bull of excommunication was hurled againſt Louis, an honour about to be conferred on James when Julius II died in the February following, and was ſucceeded by the more pacific abilities of Leo X [6].

Yet James continued his labours to eſtabliſh the peace of Europe, though at the ſame time he ordered general muſters throughout his realm: and lord Sinclair was nominated captain of the ſhip called the Great Michael, while lord Fleming obtained the ſame charge in the Margaret [7].

Meanwhile the deſigning Ferdinand had perſuaded Henry to ſend a large body of troops to Fontarabia, in the expectation of acquiring Guienne to the Engliſh crown: but the Spaniſh monarch uſed the terror of their arms to conquer Navarre for himſelf: and then made a truce with France, leaving his allies to

[5] Epiſt. R. S. I, 156—165.

[6] The interdict againſt France was of 14th Aug. Mezeray, Abr. IV, 462.

[7] O. Dacre to Henry 20 July, Cal. B. VI, 33. This letter alſo bears that a Flemiſh ſhip, laden with Scotiſh goods, had been taken by the Engliſh, and carried into Berwick: Dacre adviſes its reſtoration, and he ſhall endeavour in return to obtain thoſe taken by De la Motte, Robert Barton, and David Falconar, whom he calls pirates. De la Motte returning to Scotland in June 1512, after ſinking three Engliſh veſſels, captured ſeven, and brought them to Leith. Leſl. 357.

In Sept. 1512 La Motte returned to France, and reviſited Scotland in November. Again ſailing to France in ſpring 1513, on the 14th of May he arrived in the weſt of Scotland, with four ſhips laden with corn and wine; and returned to France on the 29th of that month. Leſl. 358. He appears to have again viſited Scotland, and to have been preſent at the battle of Flodden in September. Buch. XIII, 38.

Nor

to act at their diſcretion[8]. This remote expedition appears not to have excited much apprehenſion in the Scotiſh court, which only granted letters of reprizal to Robert Barton, in conſequence of which he captured thirteen Engliſh veſſels[9]. Some incurſions were alſo made on the marches, in virtue, as appears, of ſimilar letters; which, by a ſpecial clauſe in the pacification, had been permitted, in caſe that either party ſhould complain of unredreſſed injuries. Yet Henry, urged by theſe appearances of war, gave a commiſſion to the earl of Surrey, appointing him lieutenant general of the marches; with orders to array the fencible men of the northern counties, in oppoſition to the Scots[1]. The Engliſh intended no invaſion: and James being unprepared delayed open war, though his ſubjects were harraſſed at ſea by an Engliſh ſquadron, which aſſumed the merit of combating in the holy cauſe of the pope, and treated the Scots as profane enemies of the Roman ſee[2]. 1512 6 Aug.

The movements of James were however eagerly watched, and a review of his fleet excited an alarm approaching to that of war. Henry having ordered Darcy, governor of Berwick, to impart what he could diſcover concerning the intentions of the Scotiſh king, that peer informed his ſovereign that, according to the report of a ſpy, James intended to command 7 Aug.

Nor muſt it be omitted that on the 18th July [1512], James had ſent repeated letters to Dacre and Henry, complaining that Falconar's ſhip had been ſunk, and himſelf ſent priſoner to London, Cal. B. VI, 60; and that the Scotiſh merchants had ſuffered many injuries from the Engliſh, who called themſelves "the pope's men," ib. 65. But he offers to ſend the biſhop of Moray, as his embaſſador to Henry, provided the ſafe conduct extend to his paſſage abroad. James promiſes peace and redreſs, if Henry ſhew ſimilar intentions; and he hopes this will be the caſe "nochtſtanding ſmall differencyis betwix ws." As to De la Pole he rejects his cauſe, as alike injurious to himſelf and Henry. Ib.

[8] Mezeray, ib. Herbert, 21, 22. [9] Lelley, 357. [1] Rymer, XIII, 339.
[2] Polyd. Virg. lib. XXVII, p. 629. Epiſt. R. S. I, 151.

the

1512 the fleet himſelf, having in his company only the biſhop of Moray, and ſome other lords, but not above ſix perſons were in the ſecret: that he could not collect above twenty ſhips, and not ſo many if Brownhill and Barton did not arrive from France; but that he expected to meet the French fleet at ſea, and to be joined by ten of their ſhips, ſo that no apprehenſions were entertained of the Engliſh navy: that when the junction was effected, the Scots on the firſt intelligence were to invade the marches, but if the French fleet were previouſly defeated the peace would continue: and Darcy engages to prepare Berwick and the north of England [3].

Yet it was believed in England that James ſincerely wiſhed
17 Aug. to preſerve peace; but the prudent Dacre adviſed the moſt lenitive meaſures on the Engliſh part, till the corn were reaped, when it would be difficult for the Scots to invade that country [4]. Henry's temper was little diſpoſed to gentleneſs; he refuſed to make peace with France, except by the conſent of his allies. James on his part offered every redreſs, even for the ſhips taken by Robert Barton, though now engaged in the ſervice of the French king [5]. Henry in a letter to Dacre ridicules

[3] O. Darcy to Henry 7 Aug. [1512.] Some of the ſhips, as the Michael, the Margaret, the James, and *a new bark*, were at moſt above 300 tons; two others were of 100 tons; the largeſt of the reſidue not above 80. Darcy's ſpy was a prieſt, familiar with James; he deſired to paſs into England, and Darcy requeſts an archdeaconry for him. It is much ſuſpected that he was Adam Williamſon, (ſee 1515.) The Scots alſo boaſted of ſpies in Henry's court. Ib.

[4] O. Dacre to the biſhop of Durham 17 Aug. Cal. B. III, 2. This letter alſo bears that the treaſurer of Scotland had mentioned to Dacre's meſſenger, that if 4 or 5000 angels were ſent to James, he might be pacified, and all brought to good iſſue. Margaret reſented the detainure of her father's legacy; and Dacre adviſes that it be paid, the ſum being ſo ſmall. This injuſtice of Henry was indeed mean beyond conception.

[5] O. James to Henry 25 Aug. B. VI, 34, narrating Henry's letter dated at Portſmouth.

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the idea that Barton is a ſubject of France; yet approves of 1512
the biſhop of Moray, as a proper embaſſador from Scotland to
his court, but will not grant a ſafe conduct for his proceeding
thence to France: he at the ſame time expreſſes his perplexity
concerning the conduct of James, whom he knows not whether
to term a friend, or a foe [6].

Nevertheleſs the ſolemn days of meeting were held as uſual Sept.
on the borders; and local redreſs was ſtrictly obſerved on both
ſides. The archdeacon of St. Andrews in vain arrived from
Paris, with letters from Louis, inſtigating James to a rupture
with England. With De la Motte, who now again returned
to France, James ſent Walter Ogilvy, charged to propoſe to
Louis that the ſame annual ſum ſhould be paid to him as had
been aſſigned to Henry from France, for Scotland had not
funds ſufficient to maintain an expenſive war. This demand
was conſidered as a refuſal to comply with the wiſhes of Louis,
for to grant it was impoſſible [7].

James diſpatched Unicorn herald to the Engliſh court, to Oct.
requeſt a paſſport for the biſhop of Moray, as embaſſador to
London, and from thence to Paris, and other courts, in order
to effectuate the peace of chriſtendom. Henry ſent an anſwer 12 Nov.
by the herald, approving of Moray as embaſſador to him, for
continuing the *perpetual peace* between England and Scotland;

[6] C. Henry to Dacre, no date, B. VI, 44. This letter, as it bears at the end, was to be ſhewn to James.

[7] O. John Aniſlow to the biſhop of Durham, Norham, 11 Sept. B. VI, 5; a long and curious letter. The Great Michael had run a-ground in the firth of Forth, and if laden muſt have been loſt. Robert and John Bartons had now returned to Scotland, and were highly in the royal favour: but Brownhill, and one of the Bartons, blamed each other for flight when captured in the engagement with the Engliſh in 1511. "And, my lord, the king of Scottis can make out xvi ſchippis of where, in all Scotland, with toppis;" that is ſixteen ſhips of war of the largeſt ſize; a powerful armament for the time.

but

1512 but refuſed the ſafe conduct to Paris, as he could not be inſtrumental in a treaty with Louis, who had been excommunicated
6 Dec. by the pontiff. James replied that this objection was inſufficient, as Ilay herald had juſt arrived with a brief and letters from the pope, authorizing the Scotiſh king to labour for univerſal concord: and he deſires a ſafe conduct to the biſhop of Moray and the earls of Arran and Angus [8].

10 Dec. In a letter to Henry, lord Dacre, who had been appointed warden of the eaſtern and middle marches, (and whoſe correſpondence is, for a long ſeries of years, occaſionally to enlighten the page of Scotiſh hiſtory,) mentions ſome intereſting particulars. De la Motte had anchored oppoſite to Leith, on the twenty-ninth of November, amid a violent ſtorm: a ſalute of ten cannons being fired by his ſhip, the citizens of Edinburgh ran to arms at the alarm, and the common bell was rung for three hours. His veſſel was driven up the Forth to Blackneſs by the tempeſt: and the Great Michael lying there, James afterwards proceeded on board that famous ſhip, and gave audience to the embaſſador, who brought the ſolemn ratification of the league, as ſettled in July, by Louis his ſovereign [9].

[8] O. James to Henry, 6 Dec. B. VI, 4, narrating Henry's letter. James complains of the want of proper redreſs on the frontiers, and that a ſhip laden with ſalmon, belonging to Aberdeen, had been captured. The piracies were mutual; but the balance of gain ſeems rather to have been on the ſide of Scotland.

[9] O. Dacre to Henry, 10 Dec. B. III, 27. Compare Leſley, 358. Dacre adds that La Motte brought 30 tons of wine, white and claret, 8 laſts of gunpowder, 200 iron ſhot or gun-ſtones; and 8 ſerpentines of braſs for the field, three yards long, and capable of ſhooting ſtones as large as ſwans eggs: beſides plate for James, and ſilks for the queen. Dacre had many ſpies in Scotland. A Spaniſh ſhip was carried into Leith by a French cruiſer, and ſold; the king, lords and the captors had, each party, one third. The biſhop of Caithneſs, and the abbot of Kelſo, had come to the borders to ſee redreſs made.

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In the beginning of this year James ſent lord Drummond, and others, embaſſadors to England [1]; and appears, in his eager deſire of protecting Louis from the threatened danger of a more formidable Engliſh invaſion, to have offered to Henry a complete and gratuitous remiſſion of all the offences, and damages, recently ſuffered by the Scots, provided that England would abandon the confederacy againſt France. Had this propoſal been adopted, James would have ſerved his ally more effectually than by war: but Henry haughtily rejected the terms [2]. He had however appointed lord Conyers, and Sir Robert Drury, as commiſſioners, to redreſs any infractions of the perpetual peace [3]: and he renewed the powers granted to lord Dacre, and Dr. Weſt, his former embaſſadors, for negotiating a mutual remiſſion of offences [4]. 1513 14 Jan. 15 Feb.

Finding his negotiations with Henry in order to procure peace to France ineffectual, James ſedulouſly prepared for war. He went daily to inſpect the progreſs of his artillery at the caſtle of Edinburgh, and of his navy at Newhaven; as a ſecure retreat for which againſt any ſudden attempt, he ordered a ſtrong tower to be built on a ſmall iſland named Inch Garvey, oppoſite to Queensferry, which with a battery on either ſide of the Forth, would effectually repel any hoſtile aſſault [5].

Though

[1] Rymer, XIII, 346. [2] Epiſt. R. S. I, 170, 180.

[3] Rymer, XIII, 346, 1 Feb. [4] Ibid. 347.

[5] O. Dacre to Henry, 24 Feb. B. III, 23. More minute particulars are, that the ſafe conduct for Weſt had arrived: that De la Motte ſailed on the 14 Feb. with Octavian a ſervant of the pope, and ſixty Scots, and that James was for an hour aboard the ſhip, which was laden with "wool, felt, and ſalt hides." Jaques Tarret a Frenchman, who built the great ſhip, had alſo gone to France, to make ſome articles requiſite to her completion. De la Motte had taken a *crayer* laden with malmſey, &c. at Flamborough head, and ſent it to Leith. Arrow-heads were made in Scotland ſuperior to any ſeen before,

1513 Though a commiſſion of embaſſy to James had, as before mentioned, been iſſued by Henry to lord Dacre and Dr. Weſt, it was underſtood that the latter alone ſhould proceed to Scot-
16 Mar. land. Weſt accordingly arrived in Edinburgh, and commenced an unſucceſsful negotiation in the hope of detaching
20 Mar. James from the French intereſt [6]. Henry deſired his envoy to offer redreſs of all naval infractions of the peace, provided that James would obſerve the ſame terms, but he obſerves that if equity were followed, it muſt be conſidered that the Engliſh had ſuffered triple the damage that the Scots had undergone: yet he will prefer a total abolition of the claims on either ſide to a mutual redreſs [7]. Two intereſting letters from Weſt to his ſovereign remain, and their chief contents ſhall be here
1 April extracted. In the firſt, which is dated from Stirling, he informs Henry that James, (ever attached to ſuperſtition ſince he appeared in the unhappy field againſt his father,) had been for a week ſecluded in the monaſtery of the friars obſervants at Stirling, ſo that no acceſs could be had to him: that Unicorn herald, and John Barton, had arrived from a miſſion to France: that if the biſhop of Moray had paſſed to that country, he was led to expect the rank of cardinal, and he had declared that in ſeven months England would repent of the war: the queen deſired that her father's legacy to her might be remitted,

and Dacre ſends a ſample. There were thirteen great ſhips at Leith, all of *three tops*, beſides ten ſmaller veſſels, and the ſhip of Lynne taken by William Brownhill: at Newhaven there lay two great ſhips, the Margaret, and the James, formerly damaged but now repaired, and a long veſſel of thirty oars on each ſide, like a galley, was conſtructing to attend the Great Michael. James went early every morning to Newhaven, and returned at noon to dinner. A new gun had burſt in Edinburgh caſtle, to the imminent jeopardy of the king, and many ſpectators.

[6] Leſl. 358.

[7] C. Henry to Weſt dean of Windſor, his embaſſador in Scotland, 20 Mar. B. VI, 36, 55.

and

and ſhe would induce James to pacific meaſures. Weſt pro- 1513
ceeds to relate that the biſhop of Moray was to go to Italy, to congratulate Leo X, the new pontiff: that the Scotiſh king declared that he would not make war, without ſending a herald, ſo that if Henry went to France, as he intended, he might return to defend his own kingdom: that to the offer of one thouſand marks, made by Henry, if James would conſent to an abolition of all claims, that prince anſwered with ſcorn that he did not want money, and would not ſell his effects. James ſaid that Henry had nominated a ſucceſſor to the crown of England, to his prejudice, who was the neareſt heir; but this Weſt, as authorized by his inſtructions, ſolemnly denied. The Scotiſh king perſiſted in his romantic deſign of a voyage to Jeruſalem; and ſhewing to Weſt the advantageous terms offered by France, he urged that by the aſſiſtance of Louis alone could he perform his holy expedition. To the chief purport of Weſt's embaſſy, which was to enquire if James would conſent to obſerve the peace in the abſence of Henry, it was anſwered that appearances muſt be ſaved with France, but that if England would offer the ſame terms they would be conſidered. The duplicity of this propoſal Weſt juſtly ſuſpected. To the modeſt demand of the Great Michael made by Henry, James replied that he might command all his ſhips, on condition that he made peace with France [8].

The

[8] O. Weſt to Henry, 1 April, B. VI, 56. James regularly attended his chapel every forenoon in his *traverſe*, (retired ſeat with lettice,) and Margaret was as formal; "when the paſſion was preched, and the ſermon doon, the quene ſent for me." James ſaying he muſt appeal from Henry's judgment, Weſt aſked to whom, and the monarch replied laughing, "I ſhall appeal to Preſter John." He complained that the Engliſh commiſſioners on the borders only trifled; and that Drury ſaid on the bench, that no Scotiſh ſhip ſhould ſail the ſea without being taken; ſo much had Robert Barton's numerous captures

1513 13 April The ſecond letter dated from Edinburgh bears that the preparations for war continued, and De la Motte was daily expected from France with proviſions for the Scotiſh fleet: that the ſecretary of Scotland had confeſſed that the laſt brief from Julius had more inflamed the mind of James, than all the French embaſſies, and the king declared that, if that pope had lived, he would have ſupported a council of even three biſhops againſt him [9]. Weſt now leaving Scotland, James and his queen remitted letters to Henry by that embaſſador: the former ſtated that the biſhop of Moray had proceeded to France by ſea, becauſe a ſafe conduct through England had

irritated the Engliſh. Henry was ſo mean as to offer to pay the legacy left to his ſiſter, by their father, if James would conſent to peace; ſcornfully rejected: the king declaring that he would pay the ſum to his wife himſelf. The archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the earl of Argyle, the ſecretary, and Sir John Ramſay, were appointed to confer with Weſt. If James procured peace, France offered to him a tenth of her revenue, (a *diſme* of the realm.) The biſhop of Moray ſailed to France on the 31ſt of March; (ſee a letter of that date, ſent with him, to Maximilian, miſplaced in Epiſt. R. S. I, 298.)

Weſt ſays he would rather have been in Turkey, the Scots were ſo *myſer* and ſo ungracious; and this ſuit for peace made them ſo proud, that they forgot themſelves, while the new treaty with France ſo intenſely connected them with that country, that they could do nothing in the leaſt prejudicial to the alliance.

[9] O. Weſt to Henry, 13 April, B. VI, 69. From this letter it alſo appears that, at this time, the embaſſador obſerved at Leith only nine or ten ſmall *topmen*, (ſhips with tops,) and ſome *balingars* and *crayers*; and none were rigged for ſea, except one ſmall *topman* of about ſixty tons; at Newhaven the Margaret about the ſize of the Chriſt of Lynne was repairing. James ſaid that the Michael had ſixteen large ordinance on each ſide, and more cannon than the French king had ever brought to the ſiege of a town; but this Weſt regards as a vaunt. De la Motte was to bring biſcuit and beer for the fleet. A cannon more than three yards long, and which ſhot ſtones larger than penny loaves, had that day been brought from the caſtle for the Margaret. Weſt threatened James that Henry would ſtop his great voyage to Jeruſalem: the king ſaid that Henry had better lead his army againſt Scotland than France; Weſt anſwered that he had arms for both.

been

been refuſed; and he deſires with much eagerneſs that Henry will conſent to peace with Louis, or at leaſt defer his expedition for one year [1]. Margaret with high ſpirit upbraids her brother for his pitiful conduct concerning their father's legacy [2]. 1513

Weſt had nevertheleſs prevailed with James to conſent that a meeting of commiſſioners from both nations ſhould be held in the following June [3]. But this meeting came to no determination; and the Engliſh commiſſioners deſired a delay till the 15th of October, with the approbation of Henry and his council [4]. James, in his letter to Henry, ſoon to be narrated, blames the Engliſh monarch for fruſtrating the intention of this conference: but while it is granted that Henry's capricious pride, and puerile ambition, prevented him from ſacrificing his enmity to France, and even from treating his ſpirited brother-in-law with deſerved attention; it muſt alſo be allowed that the arts of France prevailed more and more over James, till they violently conducted him to his own deſtruction.

Theſe invidious arts were chiefly guided by Andrew Forman biſhop of Moray, the embaſſador of Scotland at the French court; a man of verſatile talents, long buſied in the ſubtilties of negotiation, and who, with an unprincipled cunning, purſued his own advancement, often at the expence of his country. Two years after this period, he is ſolemnly ac-

[1] O. James to Henry, 13 April, B. VI, 68. He perſuades his brother-in-law to peace, "ſen mutation is accurſit in the kirk."

[2] O. Margaret to Henry, 11 April, B. VI, 74. She deſires no more may be ſaid of it, as her huſband was every day more and more beneficent to her, and would pay the ſum himſelf. "We are aſhamed thairwith, and would God never word had been thereof: it is not worth ſuch eſtimation as is in your diverſe letters of the ſamen."

[3] Leſley, 358.

[4] Letter James to Henry, in Hall and Holinſhed's chronicles.

cuſed

1513 cuſed in a letter from the government of Scotland to the pope, of having incited his ſovereign into the ruinous war terminated by his death[5]: and he muſt certainly have been an inſincere ſtateſman who was at once a favourite of his deluded maſter, and of the courts of London, Paris, and Rome. Had his ſphere been as extenſive as that of his contemporary Wolſey, he might have ſhone with all his guilt and glory. Like that famous miniſter, he blended his private avarice and ambition with every foreign negotiation: the conceſſions made to England, the treaty of perpetual peace, procured Forman the rich priory of Cottingham; the ſale of his king and country now acquired to him from France the archbiſhopric of Bourges; his devotion to the papal intereſt was ſoon to obtain that of St. Andrews[6]. The miſeries of nations ſo often originate from profligate ſtateſmen, while their unhappy ſovereigns ſuſtain the blame, that it is the peculiar duty of hiſtory to unfold the infamy of miniſters. Forman's repeated epiſtolary perſuaſions[7] were ſeconded by all the diplomatic refinement, and corrupt intrigue, of La Motte the French embaſſador; who now returned with four ſhips, laden with flour and wine, beſides ſome Engliſh prizes, for he appeared in the double character of an envoy, and a warrior[8]. But his moſt valuable

[5] Epiſt. R. S. I, 209.

[6] Epiſt. R. S. paſſim. Keith, &c. In 1509 Forman in his embaſſy to Henry VII, with ſtrange duplicity, permitted the title of king of France to paſs among thoſe of the Engliſh monarch: Rymer, XIII, 261, 267; a circumſtance which occaſioned to James the embarraſſment of a formal proteſt.

[7] Buch. XIII, 30, "literis crebris Andreæ Formanni." Add Lindſay, 171. The praiſe of this biſhop by thoſe authors is truly ludicrous. They wrote in complete ignorance of his character. See alſo the firſt years of James V.

[8] Leſl. 358. Denmark ſent ſome ſhips laden with arms: and O Donnel, the great Iriſh chief, viſited Edinburgh to offer his homage, and inſtigate James againſt England. Ibid.

freight,

freight, if we believe Henry's reproaches to James, conſiſted of crowns of the ſun, a golden coinage of France, which he profuſely diſtributed to the Scotiſh king, and courtiers. The character of James had been well ſtudied by La Motte, and was completely known by Forman, ſo that it was now touched with a maſterly hand; for letters, written in an amorous ſtrain, appeared from a high-born damſel in diſtreſs, the queen of France, to this prince of chivalry, in which ſhe termed him her knight; and, aſſuring him that ſhe had ſuffered much blame in the defence of his honour, beſeeched him to advance but three ſteps into Engliſh ground with his army, for the ſake of his miſtreſs. The artful queen, Anne of Bretagne, who died a few years after in her thirty ſeventh year, at the ſame time ſent to James fourteen thouſand crowns; and, what ought to have been more valuable to an errant knight, a ring from her own finger [9]. An exquiſite ſenſibility of honour was the peculiar foible of James, as it was to be of his ſucceſſor, and proved in different *modes fatal* to both. Hence the reproaches of Anne, which refer to the inactivity of James, after the league of laſt year, and perhaps to the intervening negotiations with England; and hence the inſolent remonſtrance, contained in a letter of Forman's at this period, in which he aſſured his king that his honour was for ever loſt, if he did not aſſiſt France, as Forman had promiſed in his name [1]. 1513

But there was another point of honour to be conſidered; for a defect in which the Engliſh warmly accuſed James, though with no great degree of juſtice. This was the rupture of the perpetual peace; to the obſervance of which both kings had ſolemnly ſworn. Yet there was nothing in that treaty excluſive of an alliance between Scotland and France; and

[9] Lindſay, 171, 172. Buch. XIII, 25. [1] Iidem ib.

it

1513 it was eſpecially agreed that either party might aſſiſt an ally againſt the other, provided there was no invaſion permitted of each other's dominions: in their ſubſequent letters, James, and Henry, betrayed improper warmth; but the power, which firſt radically infringed the perpetual peace, was that which firſt invaded the territories of the other; and in this it is ſuſpected that James was to blame: for if any petty Engliſh invaſion preceded that by Home, as our hiſtorians pretend, it might, like other limitary inſults, have been revenged by letters of reprizal, in conformity to the grand pacification [2]. But in this point that celebrated treaty was ſo little adapted to the contingencies of real practice, that no political ſcheme could ſecure it from violation: it was the work of churchmen, and to ſtateſmen, warriors, and mankind in general, preſented ſome objects, and methods, impoſſible in the accompliſhment. To a candid enquirer the caprice, and haughtineſs, of Henry will appear as immediate a cauſe of the war, as the prevalence of the French intereſt at the Scotiſh court: James may well be acquitted of any criminal infringement of a conditional oath; but he muſt be charged with raſhneſs, and want of prudence. The conduct of Henry VII to himſelf ſhould have been the example for that of James to his youthful brother-in-law; but the character of the Scotiſh monarch was unhappily as impetuous as that of his antagoniſt.

30 June Henry, having ſent a large and gallant army into France, ſoon after proceeded to take the command in perſon [3]; and the ruin

[2] Arran's invaſion of Ireland in July was confeſſedly unauthorized.

[3] Herbert, 36, 37. On the 24th of May 1513, James ſent an important letter to Henry, the original of which is extant in Cal. B. VI, f. 67. He informs his brother-in-law that France having concluded a truce with Arragon for one year on the 1ſt of April laſt, ſhe deſired James to accede, if Henry would; and he offers any terms of peace. The death of admiral Howard, (April 25, Herbert

ruin of that kingdom ſeemed inevitable; for, to judge from preceding events, if the Engliſh had formerly ſubdued France by the aid of the duke of Burgundy, what muſt be their ſucceſs when aſſiſted by the emperor, and the houſe of Auſtria, of whoſe extenſive domains thoſe of Burgundy now formed only a province? Alarmed for the ſafety of his ally, apprehenſive, as he pretended, for his own conſequent fate, the Scotiſh king ordered his fleet to prepare for ſea. James Gordon of Letterfury, a ſon of the earl of Huntley, was appointed admiral; and he was ordered to conduct the earl of Arran with about three thouſand troops into France [4]. The number of ſhips, in this ſole fleet of war which Scotland ever equipped, is not ſpecified by our careleſs writers: apparently it did not exceed twenty; but the ſmallneſs of the number was compenſated by the ſtrength and ſize of ſome of the veſſels, among which the Great Michael, the Margaret, the James, are eſpecially commemorated [5]. 1513

The ſquadron ſailed, the king being on board the Michael; 26 July where he remained to animate the leaders and troops, till the ſhips had paſſed the iſland of May. He then landed, little

Herbert 31,) he regards as a loſs to Henry, never to be compenſated by the acquiſition of French gallies; and he adds that ſuch able officers ſhould be employed againſt the Turks. He expreſſes the deepeſt regret of himſelf and his queen for the fate of that gallant man, as they were both well acquainted with his father [Surrey,] "the noble knicht, quha convoyt oure deereſt fallow the quene unto ws." Deeply pathetic, when it is conſidered that, in a few months, this noble knight was to ſlay him in battle!

[4] Leſley, 359. Lindſay, 171, ſeems more juſtly to regard Arran as both admiral and general. Yet Gordon was perhaps a ſeaman, and high admiral of Scotland at the time. Lindſay adds that lord Fleming was vice-admiral in the Margaret, and lord Roſs of Halket commanded the James.

[5] The original letters of the commencement of the reign of James V throw ſome light on this ſubject. The letter of Darcy, Aug. 1512, may alſo be referred to the reader's curioſity.

1513 ſuſpecting the ſubſequent ſtrange conduct of Arran. That peer, whoſe rank and command of the troops, gave him a decided preeminence over the admiral, ordered the fleet to proceed to Carrickfergus in Ireland; a town which he eaſily took and plundered [6]. Whether his motives for this depredation were to revenge ſome injuries done to his people of Arran, by the inhabitants of the oppoſite Iriſh ſhore, or to ingratiate himſelf with France by committing Scotland as a principal party in the war, muſt be left to conjecture. It appears, from authentic Scotiſh evidence, that the ſack of Carrickfergus was conducted with great barbarity; for the poet Lindſay has celebrated, in ſtrains far from fanciful, the actions of William Meldrum of Binns, a Scotiſh gentleman preſent in this expedition: and he repreſents the town as having been abandoned to an almoſt total conflagration; his hero's merit is diſplayed by protecting even prieſts and friars from the ſoldiery; and his firſt adventure conſiſts in the deliverance of an opulent virgin from robbery and violation [7]. After this exploit, Arran paſſed to Air, to lodge his ſpoils in ſafety. James, juſtly enraged at the delay, ordered Sir Andrew Wood to proceed with a he-

[6] Abercromby, often an apologiſt, attempts to ſhew, II, 528, that this invaſion happened on the *return* of the fleet. Granger, 750, timidly paſſes the event. Guthrie, always poſitive and generally wrong, is certain IV, 342, that it happened on the return. Unhappily for this hypotheſis *the fleet never returned.* Arran brought back a few ſhips in a direct voyage from France to Scotland, Nov. 1513. Dacre to Henry, Cal. B. VI, 37. The ſhips of ſtrength had been left in France, ib. and apparently moſt of the troops. Had any invaſion then taken place, Dacre muſt have mentioned it: but he is profoundly ſilent. It is unnoticed in Henry's letter to James, 11 Aug. becauſe it could not then have reached his ears.

Lindſay, 171, tells the ſtory with unſuſpecting ſimplicity; Buchanan XIII, 25, confirms his account: and Sir David Lindſay, hiſt. of Meldrum, Scotiſh Poems, London 1792, Vol. I, p. 150, ſeq. puts the affair beyond all doubt.

[7] Lindſay's Squire Meldrum, *ubi ſupra.*

rald

rald at arms, in order to ſuperſede the admiral, and appointed Angus to command the forces: but the Scotiſh fleet had ſailed for France before the mandate arrived[8]. Of the actions of Arran's troops nothing is recorded: nor was there any conflict, except the ſkirmiſh at Guinegat, called the battle of ſpurs, have a claim to that title. Henry captured Terouenne, and Tournay, and returned. Next year a peace was concluded; and Louis wedded Mary, the ſiſter of Henry[9]. Happy! had James conſulted patience and prudence, only for one year. Louis however ſettled a penſion for life on Arran: and, in September, iſſued letters of general naturalization in France, to all the people of Scotland. To this grateful meaſure he was inſtigated by the repreſentations of Forman, biſhop of Moray, the Scotiſh embaſſador, and of Robert Stuart lord of Aubigny, captain of the Scotiſh guard: the record adds, as the chief reaſons, the aſſiſtance of the Scotiſh peers to France in the reign of Charles VII, who firſt elected a guard from their countrymen; and the tried fidelity of the nation, eſpecially on the preſent occaſion, when James had, in oppoſition to his own brother-in-law, ſent a conſiderable body of troops, and a fleet of many good ſhips to aſſiſt the French[1]. Arran returned to Scotland, in the month of November: the fate of the fleet was obſcure, a part ſailed back, and mouldered in neglect; while a part was ſold to France; in particular the Great Michael, which was purchaſed by Louis XII on the 2d of April 1514, for forty thouſand livres, from the duke of Albany, in the name of the Scotiſh government[2].

1513

Having

[8] Buch. XIII, 25. Lindſay, 172. Charters to Wood appear in Scotſt. Cal. in 1526 and 1528: he muſt have attained a great age.

[9] Herbert 37—51. Mezeray, Abr. IV, 468—470.

[1] Abercr. II, 528, from a copy in the earl of Winton's poſſeſſion.

[2] Epiſt. R. S. I, 214. Buchanan XIII, 25, fables that the fleet of Arran was ſcattered by tempeſts, and that the Michael was ſuffered to rot in the haven

1513 Having thus accompanied the maritime expedition, from its commencement to its termination, it is neceſſary to return to more fatal events by land. On the day that his fleet ſailed, James diſpatched his chief herald, with a letter to Henry, now about to form the ſiege of Terouenne. It is ſaid that this meſſage was not unknown to the Scotiſh parliament, which had been induced by the royal influence, and by the intrigues and gold of France, to conſent to an Engliſh war; but this ſeems a dubious and vague aſſertion [3]. In this remarkable letter, James recapitulates the affair of Andrew Barton; the protection given to Heron, the aſſaſſin of Ker the Scotiſh warden; and the detention of the legacy of Henry VII to his daughter: he adds the ſlaughter and captivity of ſome Scotiſh gentlemen; the delay of redreſs; and Henry's contempt, in refuſing a ſafe conduct to an embaſſador from Scotland though intended to be ſent at the requeſt of Weſt his own envoy. James, laſtly, ſtates the bonds of amity between himſelf and France, from which realm alone he could expect aid if injured, and on which the wanton attack of Henry could not fail to excite a ſimilar apprehenſion for Scotland: and in a ſentence, which might have been modified, he inſiſts on Henry's return to his own dominions [4].

11 Aug. The Engliſh monarch received this bold epiſtle, while before Terouenne, the emperor Maximilian was about to fight under his banner; and his youth was flushed with pride, ambition, and glory [5]. In an extacy of indignation, and ſcorn, he poured forth invectives againſt James; which he deſired the

of Breſt! He was an enemy of the Hamiltons. Leſley, their friend, paſſes all in ſilence. Both are, in this inſtance, alike guilty of hiſtorical falſification.

[3] Compare Buch. XIII, 30, with Lindſay, 172.

[4] The letter itſelf in Hall, 5 H 8, Holinſhed, III, 1481; Cal. B. VI, 50. The anſwer, Rymer, XIII, 382, and Cal. B. VI, 49.

[5] Herbert, 37.

lion-

lion-king-at-arms to repeat to his maſter: but the herald, with 1513
the conſcious ſpirit of his office, refuſed; adding, that he would take charge of a letter, though that of his maſter demanded deeds, and not words, and could only be anſwered by compliance[6]. This retort little contributed to appeaſe Henry's wrath; who ſent a letter full of indignities, which never reached the eye or ear of James, as the herald was not able to procure a paſſage from Flanders, till after the death of his maſter[7]. The chief topics of reproach were, that James, with the perfidy of his anceſtors, intended to break the peace ſolemnly ſworn; that he had awaited Henry's abſence, before his intentions were declared; that his want of faith being known, England was prepared to receive him; that he expected the crown of that kingdom, but Henry ſhould ſo order, that neither he, nor his deſcendants, ſhould wear it. The Engliſh king ſolemnly denies that he refuſed a ſafe-conduct to the embaſſador: and rejects with diſdain, to admit James as the judge of his quarrel with France, or at his deſire to deſiſt from the war[8]. Theſe ſingular manifeſtos, though impaſſioned, and unlike thoſe of more modern times, yet explain rather the pretences than the cauſes of enmity.

Henry certainly regarded the letter of James, and not unjuſtly, as a declaration of war: but it is impoſſible that an incurſion could be made into Scotland, in conſequence of this letter, before the 13th of Auguſt, as ſome of our hiſtorians pretend; and that ſuch an inroad was at all effected ſeems more than dubious. However this be, lord Home, who had a few years before ſucceeded his father as chamberlain of Scotland, and was moreover warden of all the marches, arrayed

[6] Hall and Holinſhed, ib. Leſl. 361. [7] Leſl. ib.
[8] Rymer, XIII, 382. Cal. B. VI, 49. Hall and Holinſhed *ut ſupra.*

his

1513 his followers to the amount of three or four thouſand, marched
13 Aug. into England, rifled and burned ſeven villages, or hamlets, on the borders; and collected conſiderable ſpoil [9]. That this incurſion was made with the permiſſion of James ſeems evident; but what intention it could ſerve, except to put the Engliſh upon their guard, before the royal army entered into their country, is inexplicable. The ſucceſs of Home was ſpeedily reverſed. Sir William Bulmer had been ſent from Doncaſter by the earl of Surrey, with two hundred archers on horſeback, to defend the marches from minute infractions: that officer now called to his aſſiſtance the gentlemen of the Engliſh border, who, with their followers, ſwelled his band to the amount of near a thouſand. Placing themſelves in ambuſcade among ſome tall broom, in the plain of Milfield, they ſuddenly ſurprized the Scots in their return, loaden with plunder. The victory, as uſual, fell to the Engliſh archers, whoſe ſharp and continuous diſcharge ſlew five or ſix hundred of Home's people: their leader fled, and loſt his banner, leaving his brother Sir George Home, and more than four hundred of his followers, captives: the prey, amid which was a great number of Engliſh horſes, was reſumed by the conquerors [1].

James, in oppoſition to the advice of his council, had already ſummoned the whole array of his kingdom, embracing every province, and even the iſles, to meet him at the Burrow-

[9] Leſl. 361. Buch. XIII, 29. Hall, 5 H 8. Holinſhed III, 1483. Herbert, 42. Granger 746 ridiculouſly ſuppoſes this event to have happened in 1512; and that Surrey's commiſſion 6 Aug. 1512 was *in conſequence* of an incurſion of 13th Auguſt! Had it happened in 1512 the numerous original remonſtrances could not have been ſilent.

[1] Leſley, 361, ſays the action happened in the paſs of Broom*houſe*, (ſo he interprets *Agro* Geniſtæ:) probably Broomridge near Milfield. Buchan. XIII, 29, narrates that the prey was ſaved by the Scots. Compare Hall 5 H 8. Holinſhed, III, 1487.

moor,

moor, on the ſouth of Edinburgh, within twenty days, ac- 1513
commodated with the uſual proviſions for an expedition of forty days [2]; beyond which time a feudal army was not bound to ſerve, except its expences were diſcharged by the ſovereign, a caſe yet unknown in Scotland. As no Scotiſh monarch had ever been more popular, the array was great, though the people was not inſenſible that the war was imprudent: and by the confeſſion of domeſtic, and the teſtimony of extraneous, record, not leſs than one hundred thouſand men crouded to the banner of James [3].

Meanwhile the defeat of Home, who ſeems to have been permitted to make his excurſion during the gradual aſſemblage of the hoſt, with an erroneous view perhaps of inſpiriting its hopes, by the previous proſpect of ſucceſs and plunder, not a little clouded the mind of the king [4]. Some of his wiſer courtiers, knowing him as prone to ſuperſtition as to romantic adventure, availed themſelves of his melancholy, to introduce a mode of diſſuaſion from his intended expedition, only adapted to the man, and to the age. As James was performing his devotions in the church of Linlithgow, a grave perſonage, with a bald fore-head, blue gown, linen girdle, and ſandals, probably repreſenting Saint Andrew, the patron of Scotland, proceeded boldly to the royal ſeat; and, with the awful voice of celeſtial authority, warned the king of the deplorable fate of his expedition: nay, if we believe an eye-witneſs, this pretended viſion added a ſtern caution againſt the king's attachment to vague amours, as leading to his certain ruin; a

[2] Lindſay, 172. Drummond, 144, obſerves that the Burrow-moor was "a field then ſpacious, and delightful, by the ſhades of many ſtately and aged oaks."

[3] Lindſay, 175. Hall, 5 H 8. Holinſhed, III, 1488.

[4] Lindſay, 172, ſays James was "very ſad and dolorous."

circumſtance

1513 circumſtance not prophetic of his deſtructive dalliance with Mrs. Heron, but which leads to ſuſpect that the queen was not inconſcious of the plot [5]. This ſtratagem being found ineffectual, another was uſed to diſpirit, and diſperſe, the army; by ſummoning at the croſs of Edinburgh, in the dead hour of night, the chief leaders to anſwer before an infernal tribunal [6]. But prudence and ſuperſtition united their powers in vain: and equally fruitleſs were the careſſes, and tears, of Margaret the queen, who beſought her huſband, if he muſt war with her brother, at leaſt not to conduct his forces in perſon; but to look upon his infant ſon, and reflect that on him alone reſted all the hopes of his parents, and of an affectionate people [7].

The gallant monarch proceeded, as to a tournament, unconſcious that he was no general; and ſoon paſſed the Tweed
22 Aug. with his numerous army. Encamping at Weſſel, or Twiſel, where the Till joins that river, he remained there for at leaſt
24 Aug. two days; and ſanctioned the act of a ſingular parliament, conſiſting of thoſe members who were in the army, ordaining, in imitation of a then late Engliſh ſtatute, that the heirs of all who died in the war ſhould be free from the feudal burdens of ward, relief, and marriage, due to the king, whatever might be their age [8]. The caſtle of Norham ſurrendered on the 29th of Auguſt [9]; ſome days being vainly waſted in the ſiege of this fortreſs, while the numerous array of James might

[5] Lindſay, 172, 173. Buch. XIII, 31, from the teſtimony of Sir David Lindſay, who was preſent. Theſe authors regard this theatric ſcene as ſupernatural.

[6] Lindſay, 174, again ſhews his credulity.

[7] Lindſay, 175. To preſerve her from any pecuniary embarraſſment, in caſe of his death, James gave her a private order on the treaſury for 18,000 crowns. Cal. B. II, 230. See the tranſactions of June 1517.

[8] Acts, f. v. 110. [9] Hall, 5 H 8. Holinſhed, III, 1488, Leſley, 362.

have

have enabled him to have overwhelmed the whole northern parts of England, and, with the ſpirit of a Douglas, to have intimidated the enemy by diſtant deſtruction, and enriched and attached the army by ſpoil. It is believed that Carliſle, Newcaſtle, Durham, or York, might have fallen with as much eaſe as this ſtrong, but to the Scots uſeleſs, caſtle: and the fame, and opulence, of ſuch an enterprize held forth very different animation to the army. Returning up the banks of the Tweed, James took the caſtle of Wark, or Carram, ſituated above Coldſtream, on the oppoſite ſide of the river; then proceeding to the ſouth-eaſt, he ventured a few miles further into Engliſh ground, and took the caſtles of Etal, and Ford; names before unknown, and enterprizes worthy of a border-chieftain [1]. At Ford the king found Mrs. Heron, whoſe huſband was ſtill a priſoner in Scotland, and not exchanged for ſir George Home [2]: the royal warrior was at once diſſolved in indolence, and love; while his natural ſon, the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, became the paramour of *Miſs Heron the daughter* [3]. Both ladies were of eminent beauty; but it is impoſſible to avoid a ſmile, when we are told, by an hiſtorian [4], that ſome ſuſpected the ſnare was ſpread for James by Surrey the Engliſh general; as if any human prudence could have foreſeen ſuch infatuation. It may be averred that many irretrievable days were waſted by James at Ford; for Surrey found, and defeated him, at Flodden, where his army lay on the oppoſite ſide of the Till, within a mile or two of Mrs. Heron's enchanted caſtle. In a romance ſuch a circumſtance would appear impoſſible; but much is true, which has no ſemblance of truth; and thus was paſt 1513

[1] Ibid. Buch. XIII, 32. [2] Hall, ib.
[3] Lindſay, 176, Buch. XIII, 32.
[4] Drummond, 145, edit. 1655, folio.

1513 the time, which uſed to convey a Scotiſh army to the gates of York, and return it loaden with ſpoil.

While the king purſued his amorous dalliance, his numerous array, confined to the barren extremity of England, began to find proviſions fail; and was expoſed to continual rains, among the upland heaths, and cloudy mountains. Oppreſſed moreover by a tedious delay, ſo inimical to the ſpirit of a ſoldier, the leaders and men began to execrate an enterprize, which employed weeks to accompliſh the objects of hours. Some there were, who had acquired ſpoil and captives, and were deſirous to exchange danger for enjoyment. From theſe, and other cauſes, the Scotiſh hoſt gradually melted away, till there remained not above thirty thouſand; a diſproportionate number of whom conſiſted of lords and gentlemen, prevented by conſiderations of honour from following the vulgar example [5].

On the other hand, the earl of Surrey, lieutenant general of the northern counties of England, loſt no time in his preparations to oppoſe the Scotiſh king. He ſpeedily raiſed an army of twenty ſix thouſand men; received the ſacred banner of St. Cuthbert in paſſing through Durham: and on the 30th of Auguſt, was joined at Newcaſtle by lord Dacre, and others [6].

4 Sept. Sunday. A few days after, the Engliſh army was ſtrengthened at Alnwick by an addition of five thouſand ſoldiers, conducted by Surrey's ſon, Thomas Howard, now lord admiral of England, his brother Edward having fallen in a conflict with the French fleet [7]. Immediately upon this junction, Surrey ſent a herald to James offering battle on the friday following: and, to his

[5] Lindſay, 176, ſays there only remained ten thouſand, beſides "borderers and *countrymen*," that is men of the ſouthern counties. Compare Buch. XIII, 32; Leſley, 362; and Lindſay, 181.

[6] Hall, ib. the moſt ample and authentic detail.

[7] Hall ſays only 1000: but ſee Stow, 492, Carte, III, 12.

father's

father's reproaches, the admiral added that, having in vain 1513
fought the Scotiſh fleet by ſea, he was now ready to aſſert the juſtice of Andrew Barton's fate in the van of the Engliſh army [8]. Theſe defiances were intended to arouſe the characteriſtic ſpirit, and reſentment, of James, and thus induce him to combat with a diminiſhed and diſheartened army, at the will of the Engliſh leader: nor did they fail of their propoſed effect, for the Scotiſh king accepted the challenge, in the very circumſtances that Randel and Douglas had refuſed that of Edward III [9]. Some of his peers remonſtrated againſt this imprudent ſtep, particularly the earl of Angus, whoſe great age and experience ought to have ſecured reſpect; but James only anſwered, "Angus, if you are afraid, you may go home." The affront was unpardonable; and the aged earl left the field with tears of indignation: but he commanded his two ſons and his followers, to abide the event [1].

Nevertheleſs James ſuppoſing that the hill of Flodden, on the oppoſite ſide of the Till, preſented a more advantageous poſt for his army, than the level ſituation of his camp, he removed, and took poſſeſſion of that fatal ground [2]. This hill 6 Sept.
is the laſt, and loweſt, of thoſe eminences which extend on the north-eaſt of the mountains of Cheviot, towards the vales of Tweed, from which river it is diſtant about four miles. The aſcent from the Till, which runs north by the declivity on which Ford ſtands, is about half a mile in length: and a

[8] Hall, ib. [9] Hall, ib. [1] Buch. XIII, 35, 36.

[2] The caſtle of Ford was burnt by James IV, and not repaired in 1542. See a ſurvey of the borders of that year, Cal. B. VIII, f. 63. Had ſuch papers been known to Redpath, he might have compoſed a far more intereſting work, than his injudicious hiſtory of England and Scotland, intitled the Border Hiſtory. This deſtruction lends probability to Lindſay's tale, that lady Ford betrayed James: and that ſhe paſſed between him and Surrey is clear from Hall.

1513 bridge acroſs the Till rendered the paſſage eaſy. On the ſouth of Flodden extends the capacious plain of Milfield; embraced on the weſt by high hills branching from Cheviot, on the north by Flodden and other eminences, on the eaſt and ſouth by riſing grounds, beneath which the Till winds its ſlow and ſolemn way [3].

7 Sept. Surrey learning this movement of the Scotiſh army, and being now advanced to Woolerhaugh within five miles of Flodden, he endeavoured again to provoke the pride of James, by ſending a herald to reproach him for leaving his ground; and to challenge him to abandon his heights, and try the fortune of war on Milfield plain, the following day, between the hours of twelve and three. But the king's imprudence extended not ſo far: he even refuſed admittance to the herald [4].

Finding this ſcheme fail, and that it was neceſſary to bring the Scots to battle, or retire, as his army began to want proviſions, in a barren and ravaged country, the Engliſh general, 8 Sept. with great ſkill, proceeded to a deciſive meaſure. Paſſing the Till, he advanced through rugged grounds on its eaſt-ſide, and encamped, for the night, at Barmore-wood, about two miles from the Scotiſh army. An eminence on the eaſt of Ford, ſhaded the Engliſh from obſervation: and from this height the admiral reconnoitred the Scots, who diſcharged a few cannon.

9 Sept. Friday. Next morning the Engliſh wheeled to the north weſt, and croſſed the Till near its confluence with the Tweed; the vanguard and artillery over the bridge of Twiſel; the rear by a ford, about a mile above that bridge. Having thus come

[3] Almoſt the words of Redpath, 488, who ſurveyed, in company with Dr. Percy, moſt of the ſcenes of the Scotiſh and Engliſh conflicts on the borders.

[4] C. Surrey's letter, 7 Sept. five in the afternoon, Cal. B. VI, 73; and Stow, 493, Hall, ib.

behind

behind the Scots, by which mean there was an eaſy acceſs to Flodden-hill, and a battle was rendered unavoidable, the Engliſh advanced in full array towards the enemy [5]. 1513

It is evident that James was ignorant of every duty of a general, when he permitted the accompliſhment of theſe movements: he might have repeatedly attacked the enemy at diſadvantage; in the rear, when marching through the rugged grounds; or divided when paſſing the difficult ford of the Till. But he had not even a ſuſpicion of this countermarch; and had only ordered a battery of cannon on the eaſt ſide of Flodden, to defend the bridge between Ford and his camp [6]. To the former cauſes of diſcouragement in his army, he now added perſiſtence in defence; while to attack might have been half a victory.

The Scots, ſuddenly perceiving the Engliſh in order of battle, ſet fire to the huts of their camp, and haſtened to take poſſeſſion of a northern eminence near Brankſton, which might have proved an advantageous poſt for the enemy, who had now paſſed the brook of Sandyford [7]. The ſouthern wind blew the ſmoke between the armies; ſo that the Engliſh advanced undiſcerned almoſt to the bottom of this eminence; and it is ſaid that the king even prohibited any uſe of his cannon [8]. Surrey, obſerving the confuſion of the Scots, ariſing from his unexpected approach, and from the dangerous movement to the north, reſolved upon an immediate attack. His army was in three diviſions; the van under the admiral, and Sir Edmund Howard; the middle under Surrey; and the rear led by Sir

[5] Hall, ib. Buch. XIII, 37. Leſl. 363.

[6] The veſtiges yet remain. Redpath, 490.

[7] The village of Brankſton is to the north-weſt of the hill of Flodden, and diſtant between one and two miles. The Engliſh denominated the battle from the village; the Scots from the hill.

[8] Lindſay, 181.

Edward

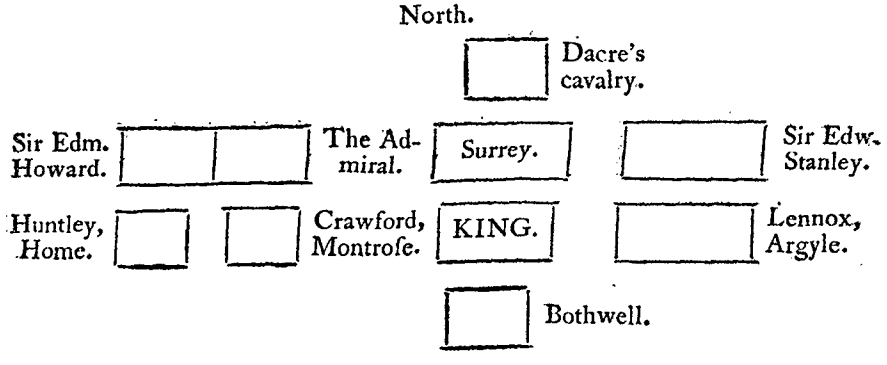
31972

1513 Edward Stanley; beſides a reſerve of cavalry commanded by lord Dacre: the artillery in the front, and in the ſpace between the diviſions [9]. The Scots were arranged in four partitions; on the left wing Huntley and Home were oppoſed to Sir Edmund Howard, while Crawford and Montroſe fronted the admiral; the king himſelf had the center: the right wing was conducted by Lennox and Argyle. The reſerve was committed to Bothwell, and conſiſted of his followers, and thoſe of other chiefs in Lothian [1]. The Engliſh cannon did ſome execution, before the armies encountered.

At

[9] Hall, ib. Stow, 492, 493. Herbert, 43.

[1] A ſlight ſketch will give a clearer idea of this noted battle.



The beſt account is to be found in Hall, who however errs, when he ſuppoſes that Huntley was with Lennox and Argyle; for Dacre, in an original letter to the council of England, Cal. B. II, 155, mentions that, (after Sir Edmund's diviſion was defeated by the Scotiſh left,) he with his cavalry encountered *Huntley and Home*, and there fell of the Homes Sir John, Cuthbert of Faſtcaſtle, the heir of Sir David; with many of their friends, as Sir William Cockburn and his ſon, the *larde* of Blacater, William Ker, and three Bromfields brothers: while Dacre's brother Sir Philip was taken, and many of his kinſmen and followers ſlain.

Lindſay gives no arrangement of the battle, but ſlightly narrates, 181, 182, that Huntley and Home had the van, (the left wing having advanced firſt, a circumſtance which has embarraſſed the narrations of the Scotiſh hiſtorians accuſtomed

At the hour of four, in the afternoon, the battle commenced. 1513
The admiral, perceiving the Scots deſcend in four large bodies, armed with long ſpears, requeſted his father to extend, and ſtrengthen, the van, by drawing up the middle diviſion on its left [1]. Sir Edmund Howard was then encountered by Huntley and Home, and his diviſion thrown into great diſorder, till Dacre advanced his cavalry in its ſupport: but the admiral, now joined by Dacre, routed, and ſlew, Crawford and Montroſe. The king's battalions oppoſed thoſe of Surrey; while Stanley on the left wheeled round the eminence, and attacked in flank Lennox, and Argyle, who being ſlain, their battalions were totally routed. But the Scotiſh hiſtorians ſay that the undiſciplined highlanders, under the latter two nobles, ruſhed down the hill, though La Motte and other French officers exerted themſelves to prevent this fatal ſtep, and by their conſequent diſcomfiture occaſioned the calamity of the day; Stanley attacking them in the rear, a meaſure generally deciſive of an engagement [3].

James had altogether forgotten his characters of monarch, and general; and ruſhed on with the illaudable valour of a

cuſtomed to regard the right wing as the van.) Leſley's arrangement is, on the *right* Huntley and Home: *left* Crawford, Montroſe: *middle* King, Argyle, and Lennox. Buchanan's, R. Huntley, Home; M. King; L. Lennox, Argyle. That of Paulus Jovius, R. Huntley, Crawford, Montroſe; M. King; L. Home, Lennox, Argyle. Hall's minute account of the battle ſufficiently evinces the fallacy of theſe deſcriptions. Lennox and Argyle, for inſtance, were attacked by Stanley; while Huntley and Home aſſailed Sir Edmund Howard; and Crawford and Montroſe were defeated by the admiral's diviſion: and in the arrangement of the Engliſh all our hiſtorians agree.

[2] The Scotiſh pikes are compared to the *Mooriſh* by Hall. This minute writer ſays that the admiral ſent the Agnus Dei from his breaſt, as a token to his father to advance. Hall probably received the circumſtances from the admiral himſelf, duke of Norfolk, 1524—1554.

[3] Buchan. XIII, 38.

common

1513 common ſoldier. While the Engliſh leaders, conſcious of their duty and importance, preſerved a ſtation, from which they could diſcern, and direct, the actions of their bands, James, and his nobles, diſmounted; and ſtruggled in the front with the maſs of Engliſh bill-men. In this vain, and inglorious, conteſt many Scotiſh peers fell; but Bothwell and his reſerve advancing, and valiantly ſupporting the king's attack, the ſtandard of Surrey was endangered. At this critical moment that part of the left wing, which was led by Crawford and Montroſe, being routed, Huntley having fled, and Home's battalion being thus ſeparated, and apparently obliged to ſtand on the defenſive againſt the cavalry under Dacre, the admiral advanced his diviſion, and aſſailed in flank that of the Scotiſh king, and the reſerve under Bothwell, which had bravely advanced in his ſupport. James fell amid heaps of his warlike peers, and gentlemen; being pierced with an arrow, and mortally wounded on the head with a bill. Though Stanley, having diſperſed the right wing, now purſued their tract, and came upon the rear of the Scotiſh centre, it ſtill maintained the ſhock; and, arranged in the form of a circle, diſputed the victory with ſurrounding enemies, till the approach of night terminated the conflict.

As Home's band had defeated a part of the Engliſh army, and the Scotiſh centre had not retired, Surrey was uncertain of the victory, till the returning dawn diſcovered that the field was abandoned by the foe [4].

Such was the celebrated battle of Flodden, the only one in which a Scotiſh king had fallen, ſince the time of Malcom III.

[4] Compare Hall's intereſting detail with the more ſummary accounts of Lindſay, 182, 183; Buch. XIII, 38; Leſley, 364. Polydore Virgil, lib. XXVII, p. 641, obſerves that if James had fought more cautiouſly, or his people had been eager to revenge his fall, the Engliſh would have been defeated.

The

The generous and valiant peers diſdained their lives, in the defence and revenge of their ſovereign; and perhaps no conflict in hiſtory diſplays ſuch an effuſion of noble blood. The archbiſhop of St. Andrews, a natural ſon of James, whoſe promiſing youth was honoured with the eulogy of Eraſmus, was a victim on this occaſion, along with other church-men of rank, George Hepburn biſhop of the Iſles, and the abbots of Kilwinning and Inchaffray. Of the nobles were twelve earls; Crawford, Montroſe, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Caſſils, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithneſs, Glencairn; beſides thirteen lords; and five eldeſt ſons of peers. The gentlemen of high rank, and chiefs of families, amounted to about fifty. Of the common ſort it may be computed, by aſſuming the middle between the diminutions of the Scots and exaggerations of the Engliſh, that about ten thouſand were left on the field [5]. On the Engliſh ſide hardly a gentleman fell, for the battle was as uſual chiefly decided by the Engliſh archers: but the loſs of the ſoldiery might amount to four thouſand. 1513

In the night of the battle, Home's followers, chiefly freebooting borderers, pillaged ſome of the ſlain; and their leader has been much calumniated by ſome Scotiſh hiſtorians, as if he had ſtood aloof, while he might have lent effectual aid to his ſovereign; nay ſome charge him with the aſſaſſination of James, when he had paſſed the Tweed, in his flight from the field. But the reports are ſo vague, and contradictory, that they deſerve no credit. The impartiality of the old Engliſh writers allows that Home's diviſion diſperſed that of his opponents; a merit aſcribed by our hiſtorians to Huntley, who was among

[5] In a tablet on the monument of Surrey, afterwards Norfolk, (Weaver's Fun. Mon.) the number is computed at 17,000. Polydore Virgil more juſtly puts 10,000 Scots, and 5000 Engliſh. He reſided in England, 1510—1550.

1513 the firſt that fled [6]. The Engliſh cavalry appear to have ſeparated Home's diviſion, and forced it to ſtand on the defenſive, till the conflict was nearly decided: perhaps the followers of that peer, who had ſuffered ſo much in the late ambuſcade, might think they had done their duty, and refuſe to renew the charge. It is impoſſible to perceive from the paſt, or ſubſequent, conduct of Home, what advantage he could hope from the death of a king, who highly favoured him and his family: but it is eaſy to diſcern that Home's power excited great jealouſy during the enſuing regency, and that his enemies exerted every art to blacken his character, before the regent was inſtigated to put him to death.

Surrey, contented with his victory, did not advance into Scotland. The body of James was diſcovered by Dacre, and was carried to Berwick, where it was recognized by Sir William Scot, and Sir John Forman, his confidential ſervants, who had remained captives. It was afterwards interred at Shene or Richmond, by the *ſpecial permiſſion* of Leo X, as James had died under a recent ſentence of excommunication, for infringing the ſolemn pacification with England [7].

[6] For Huntley's flight ſee Hall. For Home's brave reſiſtance, and great loſs, the letter of Dacre above quoted. Yet Polydore Virgil blames Home.

[7] Hall, ib. Dacre, in his letter above quoted, ſays that he found the body of James, (whom he muſt have well known from his late embaſſies to his court,) and after informing Surrey by writing, brought it to his preſence at Berwick: but how he was treated on the occaſion by one Langton of Berwick, is, he adds, well known but not yet puniſhed. The fables of our hiſtorians concerning the fate of James are beneath all notice. A curious anecdote, concerning the diſpoſal of the body, may be found in Stow's Survey of London, p. 539, extracted by Sir David Dalrymple in his Remarks on Sc. Hiſt. p. 152. For the bull of Leo ſee Rymer, XIII, 385. It mentions that Alexander VI had iſſued an interdict againſt James, if he infringed the peace with England (on the marriage treaty,) which he had done. No interdict of Julius, or Leo, appears.

Thus

Thus fell James IV, in the fortieth and firſt year of his age, 1513
and twenty ſixth of his reign; a monarch whoſe faults were few, but fatal; whoſe virtues were many but uſeleſs. He left only one legitimate child, James his ſucceſſor: Alexander, who was born near eight months after his father's death, did not live two years. His natural iſſue were, Alexander archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and Catherine wedded to the earl of Morton, both by Mary Boyd, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonſhaw; James earl of Murray, by Jean Kennedy daughter of the earl of Caſſils; Margaret, wedded to the heir of Huntley, by Margaret Drummond daughter of lord Drummond; Jean, married to Malcom lord Fleming, by Iſabel Stuart daughter of the earl of Buchan [s].

[s] Stewart's Gen. 83, 84.

BOOK XII.

BEING

THE FIRST PART OF

THE MINORITY OF JAMES V.

Conſequences of the battle of Flodden—Engliſh influence—character of Margaret—Engliſh incurſions—Arran's return—Scotiſh navy—public diſorder—Albany invited—Margaret weds Angus—diſpoſal of benefices—commotions—Williamſon's plot—peace with England—Albany arrives—his character—ſtate of the ariſtocracy—deſpotiſm of Albany—Margaret's ſpirited conduct—the king aſſigned to the care of three peers—Angus and Home—queen's eſcape—the regent appeaſes the ſouth—Home ſeized—eſcapes with Arran—Margaret in England—death of prince Alexander—tranſactions with England—Angus and Home return—negotiations—execution of Home—Albany ſails to France—Margaret returns—treaty of Rouen—aſſaſſination of De la Baſtie—affairs of Denmark—factions of Angus and Arran—queen wiſhes a divorce—ſkirmiſh at Edinburgh—Margaret forms a coalition with Albany, who returns.

1513 NO event more immediately calamitous than the defeat at Flodden darkens the Scotiſh annals. Shrieks of deſpair reſounded through the kingdom. Wives, mothers, daughters, -uſhed

ruſhed into the ſtreets, and highways; tearing their hair, in- 1513
dulging all the diſtraction of ſorrow, while each invoked ſome favourite name, a huſband, a ſon, a father, a brother, a lover, now blended in one bloody maſs of deſtruction. While the pleaſing labours of harveſt were abandoned, while an awful ſilence reigned in the former ſcenes of rural mirth, the caſtle and the tower echoed to the lamentations of noble matrons and virgins; the churches and chapels were filled with melancholy proceſſions, to deprecate the divine vengeance, and to chaunt with funereal muſic the maſſes of the ſlain. Nor, amid the pangs of private diſtreſs, was the monarch forgotten: the valiant, the affable, the great, the good; who, in an evil hour, had ſacrificed to precipitation a reign of virtues; who in the vigour of his life had fallen in a foreign land, and whoſe mangled body was the prey of his enemies. The national ſorrow was heightened by terror at the ſcene which ſeemed ready to open, of ſervitude, and of ruin. France, itſelf endangered, could afford no aid: the Engliſh monarch might little regard the ties of blood, but might wreſt from his infant nephew a kingdom left defenceleſs by the loſs of its peers and beſt warriors. Even now the philoſopher, and the hiſtorian, may regard this criſis as the moſt fatal which ever attacked the proſperity of Scotland. The reign of James IV is allowed to have been the period of the higheſt national ſucceſs, and a ſummit, from which the public fortune was gradually to decline, till, in the preſent century, it again began to aſcend. The defeat at Flodden, the death of the king, left the country a prey to foreign influence and intrigue, which continued till Scotland ceaſed to form a ſeparate kingdom: her finances were exhauſted; her leaders corrupted; her dignity degraded; her commerce and her agriculture neglected. Henceforth her hiſtoric page aſpires little to glory; but ſtill continues deeply

to

1513 to intereſt by the peculiarity, and variety, and even by the tragical nature, of its events.

The fifth James was not a year and a half old at the time of his father's death [1]. The long minority, about to be delineated, is remarkable for internal intrigue; and particularly for the fixed eſtabliſhment of the French and Engliſh factions in Scotland, which were to continue more or leſs to diſtract that ill-fated kingdom, till the cloſe of its exiſtence as a ſeparate ſtate. For many reigns preceding the tyrannic interference of Edward I, Scotland had been devoted to the Engliſh intereſt; and her kings, ignorant of the fabulous alliance with France, had regarded thoſe of England as brothers and friends. When Edward's raſh policy, and deſtructive actions, had ruined all confidence, the connexion with France commenced: and though David II, and James I, diſcovered ſome attachment to England, the peers and the nation may be regarded as conſtantly blending their intereſts with thoſe of France, and as being even blindly zealous for that country. The impolitic conduct of the Engliſh ſovereigns had not a little contributed to this effect, by continual exaſperation, and frequent war. But on the dawn of more refined policy in the northern kingdoms of Europe, they were at length to perceive that perſuaſion is more powerful than force; and that the ſums expended in fruitleſs war might be uſed to real advantage, by the regular pay of a party, ſo as to aſſume the government of Scotland without the envy attached to open conqueſt; or at leaſt to balance the ſimilar arts of France, and, by dividing the coun-

[1] He was born *about* the 16th of April, as appears from a letter of Magnus, Cal. B. VI, f. 333, mentioning that at Eaſter 1525 James would attain the age of thirteen. In the Epiſt. R. S. I, 142, date *duodecimo* as the MS. not *undecimo*: Eaſter happened on the 11th of April, ſo that the birth of James is fixed to the 10th of April 1512, by that letter, p. 141.

cils

cils and ſtrength of that ſmall ſtate, render its force ineffectual. 1513
The ambition of the emperor Charles V, the ſpirit of the monarchs of France and England, Francis I and Henry VIII, now about to produce ſome of the moſt important events in modern hiſtory, contribute to render the factious intrigues prevalent in Scotland at this period intereſting, as connected with the general hiſtory of Europe. The abilities, and fame, of the actors alſo conſpire to render the ſpectacle illuſtrious. This new ſcene is about to open on the reader with ſingular advantage: the motives, councils, events, and characters, being now, for the firſt time, to be pourtrayed from the letters of the principal perſons concerned; which are very numerous[2], and diſplay ſuch original and multifarious materials, that, on comparing the ſequel with preceding hiſtories of this reign, the reader will diſcover almoſt their conſtant error, or imperfection. The detail of Engliſh policy may perhaps ſurprize; as it will be ſeen that Cecil was only the imitator of Wolſey, and, as it appears from the originals, even conſulted the diſpatches of the cardinal as documents for his own procedure. Theſe previous remarks will, it is hoped, not be found unneceſſary to prepare attention, and to introduce with due illuſtration the ſubſequent narrative of the minority of James V.

To give the ſolemn ſanction of inauguration to the infant ſovereign, and to arrange the plan of government, muſt, from

[2] They fill nearly ſix large folio volumes, in the Cotton Library, Caligula, B. I, II, III, VI, VII, and part of B. VIII. This treaſure, to the diſgrace of our hiſtory, had not been before explored: great attention was indeed neceſſary, as they remained a chaos without even dates, till the author affixed them on the margin. It is ſtill to be regretted that the arrangement is completely unchronological. The days of the month are always put by the writers, but the years were only to be evidenced by intrinſic circumſtances, and often by numerous collateral proofs, in which Rymer's noble collection afforded great aſſiſtance.

It may not be improper to repeat that O. implies original, and C. copy.

the

1513 the indiſpenſable importance of the objects, and in imitation of former precedents, have neceſſarily attracted as early care, as was admiſſible by the regular forms, and time required to ſummon a parliament. It is certain that a national council accordingly met at Perth [3]; and though our hiſtorians unaccountably vary in their dates of the king's coronation, and this parliament be to them unknown, it may be concluded that a ceremony, which it would have been imprudent to have delayed beyond the uſual ſpace, was now performed.

about 15 Oct.

In the fatal battle of Flodden moſt of the Scotiſh nobility had periſhed, and the council which urgent neceſſity ſummoned to Perth, may be ſuppoſed to have conſiſted chiefly of the eminent clergy. To ſecure their concurrence with the queen's meaſures, ſeveral biſhoprics and abbacies were aſſigned, or promiſed [4]. Yet the members departed without any determination concerning the government of the kingdom; they only ordered that the caſtle of Stirling ſhould be well fortified, and the command given to lord Borthwick, with the important charge of the infant monarch [5]. It ſeems however to have been agreed that the queen-mother ſhould hold the reins of government, according to her late huſband's will, till a fuller parliament

[3] Original letter, Dacre to the biſhop of Durham, 29 Oct. 1513, Cal. B. III, 11; and another, B. III, 235, dated 19 Oct. from which laſt it appears that Margaret had been declared Regent, an office only to be conferred in parliament. The firſt quoted letter mentions a council as having met at Perth, evidently a national one; the royal coronations were uſually performed at Scone in the vicinity of that city. Leſley dates this parliament 21 Dec. at Stirling: Buchanan at the ſame place, 22 Feb. Both are miſtaken, for the parliament did not again meet till March, and was prorogued till May; O. Dacre to Henry, 10 March 1514, Cal. B. VI, 48; and ſame to ſame 8 April 1514, B. III, 25. Lindſay is nearer the truth, when he aſſerts that James V was crowned twenty days after the battle of Flodden.

[4] O. Dacre to Henry, 13 Nov. 1513, Cal. B. VI, 37. [5] Ibid.

ſhould

ſhould proceed to the appointment of a regency; for that of 1513
a woman was unknown in Scotland, and of dubious ſucceſs after the failure of the widows of James I and his ſucceſſor; that of an Engliſh woman, invidious at all times, was yet more to be feared during a war with England. The Engliſh faction was yet to form; and the French began to murmur, and to think of the duke of Albany, John the ſon of Alexander baniſhed by his brother James III, and who was undoubtedly next heir to the monarchy, if the progeny of his couſin James IV ſhould fail. But this prince remaining in France was diſtant from their vows; and the recent example of Richard III of England occaſioned ſome terror at the proſpect of committing royal children to the charge of their uncle. Nor would it have been prudent further to have irritated Henry VIII, by manifeſting any diſreſpect to his ſiſter at this criſis; not to mention that the queen intereſted the wiſhes of the people by her ſituation, being in the third month of her pregnancy, and, as it proved, of a ſon, Alexander duke of Roſs[6], who was born in the following April, but died in his ſecond year.

The royal widow appears to have merited, and poſſeſſed, the admiration of all ranks; and as ſhe continues to occupy much attention, during the various and ſtormy ſcenes of this long minority, ſome account of her character may not be here improper. Margaret was now in her twenty-fourth year; and her youthful beauty and graces rather proclaimed the bride, than the widow. Her circular countenance diſplaying gaiety, her vivacious eyes, her perſon rather ruſtic than delicate, were accompanied with a correſponding vigour of health[7]. Her amorous propenſities were ſtrong; and were to be indulged at

[6] Not Rothſay, as ſome of our hiſtorians, a title ſacred to the eldeſt ſon of the monarch: the coeval letters unanimouſly ſtyle him Roſs.

[7] A good whole length portrait exiſts at Hampton-court.

1513 the expence of ambition and decency, in precipitate marriages; and, if we believe her brother and Wolſey, in yet bolder deviations [8]. But eminent in accompliſhments, and in prudence when unbiaſſed by her paſſions, her talents throw her faults into the ſhade. Her long letters [9] diſplay an intimate knowledge of affairs, and characters, conſiderable ability, and patient induſtry. In her political conduct ſhe was not free from the levity aſcribed to the ſex, and was apt to paſs from one extreme to another; and, when in power, alternately to diſplay too much pride or too much humility, a ſeverity too ſtern or a gentleneſs too relaxed. Yet the times were difficult; and that wiſdom could not be mean which attracted the praiſe of the able Dacre, of the prudent and magnanimous Surrey, and of the cautious cardinal [1], a praiſe not to be ſuſpected of flattery, becauſe neither pronounced nor known to the object.

The ariſtocracy of Scotland was at this time ſo much diminiſhed, and weakened, that the queen's attempt to gain the regency was not ſo arduous, as it might have proved at another period. The peers, who amounted to about forty at the cloſe of the late reign, were now reduced to nearly half the number, by extinction or by nonage. In a meeting of the ſtates, ſome time after this period [2], we only find the names of Angus, Argyle, Arran, Errol, Morton, Eglinton, Home, Sempil, Roſs, Erſkine, and Yeſter. Among perhaps an equal number abſent on this occaſion, Huntley and Crawford deſerve parti-

[8] See the year 1521.

[9] They often fill ten, or twelve, folio pages, wholly written with her own hand.

[1] In various letters which paſſed among thoſe three eminent perſons, to be found in the above collection.

[2] Rymer, XIII, 509: 15 May 1515.

cular

cular mention, being the moſt powerful lords in the north, as 1513
Angus and Home were in the ſouth.

Meanwhile the war with England continued to deſolate the Scotiſh borders. The deputies for the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, who were themſelves in the field of war, publiſhed, the day after the battle of Flodden, a ſpirited proclamation, ordering the inhabitants to prepare for defence, in conſequence of a melancholy rumour which had ariſen; and prohibiting the women to ſpread diſmay through the ſtreets, by their tears, ſhrieks, and lamentations [3]. New and dreadful was the epoch which called for ſuch a mandate: but the apprehenſions were vain, as Surrey unexpectedly diſmiſſed his army. His motives for this conduct remain unexplained: his force was certainly weakened by the conflict, and he was perhaps unwilling to commit his ſignal ſucceſs to the envy of chance: yet the want of proviſions and ammunition ſeems to have formed the chief obſtacle; an attending fleet having been always found neceſſary to victual the Engliſh army in invading Scotland; repeated experience having taught the Scots to withdraw their cattle, and ſtores, into diſtant heights, woods, and wilds. Henry, engaged in a war with France, could not ſpare a naval force; but with eager commands and reproaches he excited lord Dacre of the North, warden of the eaſtern marches, to frequent inroads. This nobleman was alike eminent in warlike proweſs, and in political talents, and was to act a moſt important part in the minority of James V, being,

[3] It is publiſhed by Sir D. Dalrymple in his Remarks on the Hiſt. of S. p. 147. George Touris was vice-provoſt, ib. The family of Touris (Towers) of Innerleith often occurs in Scotſtarvet's Calendars, from the reign of James I. In 1538 the family ſeems to have paſſed to Briſtol in England, (perhaps as proteſtants,) for, in that year, a charter of part of Innerleith is granted by George Touris of Briſtol.

1513 as it were, a deputy for Henry and Wolſey, in the management of the Engliſh intereſt in Scotland. His papers fortunately remain; and not only unveil his art and induſtry, but convey the moſt authentic hiſtorical materials for many facts, before miſrepreſented or unknown. Home, who was the
18 Oct. chamberlain of Scotland, and at the ſame time warden of the marches, met Dacre in order to negotiate for the ranſom of ſome Engliſh priſoners; but Home was at this time warmly inimical to the Engliſh intereſt, and the meeting was followed by no effect, ſave repeated incurſions into Scotland [4]. The waters being ſwelled with rain prevented Dacre's former intention of leading four thouſand men into the Scotiſh borders; and, as was uſual on theſe occaſions, he was forced to await a certain age of the moon, before he led his men to toils and to prey, which the ſhortneſs of the day might have rendered unſafe or ineffectual [5]. Some ſmall, but deſtructive, inroads were however made [6]: and Dacre being unjuſtly ſuſpected of favouring Home, he cauſed his marauders particularly to ravage
about 28 Oct. the manor of Irwin, belonging to the chamberlain, in order to evince the falſity of the charge [7]. Theſe petty inſults did

[4] O. Dacre to the biſhop of Durham, dated Carliſle 19th Oct. 1513, Cal. B. III, 235.

[5] Ibid.

[6] O. Biſhop of Durham to Wolſey, 24 Oct. 1513, Cal. B. VI, 40. Wolſey is here ſtyled the Almoner; and it is not unuſeful in chronology to add a brief note of his progreſſive preferments, from Fiddes's life of that child of fortune.

Wolſey was rector of Lymington in 1500—chaplain to the king about 1505—Rector of Redgrave 1506—Envoy to Maximilian 1507—Dean of Lincoln 1508—Almoner to Henry VIII, 1509—Canon of Windſor 1510—Dean of York, (but Almoner ſtill the chief dignity,) 1512—Biſhop of Lincoln, March 1514—Archbiſhop of York, Aug. 1514—Cardinal and chancellor 1515—Legate a latere 1516. His fall dates 1529; his death 1530.

[7] O. Dacre to biſhop of Durham, 29 Oct. 1513. Cal. B. III, 11.

not

not however correſpond with Henry's intention; who by 1513
letters to Dacre, from Tournay, dated the 30th of September
and the 10th of October, had ordered that lords Dacre and
D'Arcy ſhould make three great incurſions, the former from
the weſtern and from the middle marches, the latter from the
eaſtern; and one thouſand marks were promiſed to ſupport the
expence: the Engliſh monarch at the ſame time commanded
that no Scotiſh gentlemen, taken priſoners at Flodden, ſhould
be releaſed till his pleaſure were known; but to this Dacre
anſwers that the few taken had moſtly been ranſomed before,
the money having been paid to the individuals who had cap-
tured them[8]. In compliance with the above injunctions it
appears that at leaſt one ſtrong inroad was made by Dacre on about
the middle marches. That leader, and his brother, entered 10 Nov.
Scotland, at the head of three thouſand horſe, and only about
three hundred infantry, cavalry being more ſuited to ſuch ex-
peditions: dividing into detachments, they gave to the flames the
towns of Rowcaſtle and Langton upon the Teviot; took two
forts, and burned the roofs and floors. Amid this deſtruction
a conſiderable prey was collected, and carried off, though,
upon Home's appearance with about two thouſand followers,
the Engliſh retired[9]. It is hoped that the minuteneſs of theſe
details will be pardoned, as they are not only new, but com-
pletely overturn the ridiculous praiſes beſtowed on Henry's
lenity, at this criſis, by former Scotiſh hiſtorians.

As the Scotiſh navy forms a ſubject little known, any anec-
dotes concerning it become intereſting. The voyage to France,
in the middle of this eventful year, has been narrated under

[8] O. Dacre to Henry in anſwer, 22 Oct. 1513. B. VI, 42. Dacre ſays he took no priſoners, for his band made "even work" before them.

[9] O. Dacre to Henry 13 Nov. 1513, B. VI, 37, a curious and important letter concerning Scotiſh affairs.

the

1513 the preceding reign. With this expedition the Scotiſh mariners and ſoldiers were little ſatisfied; and the Great Michael was run aground, and almoſt loſt; yet John, one of the celebrated Bartons, proceeded to France, with ſome other veſſels of war; but he ſickened, and was landed, and died, at Kircudbright [1]. Arran, whom Dacre ſtyles the admiral, and who aſpired to the regency from his connexion with the royal blood, now Nov. returned to Scotland with part of the navy; three of the largeſt ſhips having been left in France, and they were afterwards ſold there by Albany. With Arran came a French knight [2], with letters of credence from the French king, and the duke of Albany, who already began to prepare the public expectation of his regency. Nor, among the ſmaller events of this period, muſt it be omitted that David Ker of Fernihurſt entered by force upon the abbey of Kelſo, and enjoyed his intruſion [3].

1514 Jan. Hoſtilities continuing with England, Andrew Brownhill, and Antony D'Arcy lord de la Baſtie, proceeded on an embaſſy to Denmark, in the name of the Scotiſh and French monarchs, to repreſent the diſtreſſed ſituation of Scotland, and to ſolicit from their Daniſh ally ſubſidies of men and ammunition [4]. But the new ſovereign Chriſtiern II appears to have paid little regard to theſe ſolicitations. To add to the embarraſſments of Scotland, the emperor, being in alliance with England, interdicted the Scotiſh commerce with his dominions. Dacre not only continued to infeſt the borders with repeated incurſions, but retained ſeveral ſpies in Scotland, to enable

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. Apparently de la Baſtie.

[3] Ibid. This intelligence of Nov. 1513 ſhews the error of Buchanan, and others, who date this event in September, and build upon it an hypotheſis concerning the death of James IV.

[4] Epiſt. R. S. I, 185, 186.

him

him to receive the freſheſt intelligence, and ſow inteſtine di- 1514
viſion: among theſe ſpies the prioreſs of the nunnery of Cold-
ſtream was to be one of the moſt uſeful [5]. The eccleſiaſtics continued their warm and indecent diſputes for the ſees and abbacies, rendered vacant by the ſlaughter of ſeveral eminent churchmen at Flodden. Great was the public diſorder; and the council of ſtate was in vain frequently aſſembled, for the young peers oppoſed the prudent reſolves of the aged [6]. A parliament was fixed for the twentieth day of March [7], but the council poſtponed it to the fifteenth of May, after ordaining that the caſtles ſhould be given to the cuſtody of captains choſen by them. Crawford was appointed chief juſtice beyond the Forth, and Home to the ſame high office in the ſouth. A bill for the duke of Albany's reſtitution to his parental eſtates was given in, and read, but not decided: nor were the difficulties ſmall, for, among others, the lands of March had been aſſigned as a part of the queen's jointure. Yet Ilay herald was ſent to invite Albany to aſſume the regency, apparently with the aſſent of the queen, who was diſguſted with the vain exerciſe of an authority merely nominal; and, was moreover not indiſpoſed to the French intereſt, as ſome propoſitions had ariſen which indicated that Louis XII deſigned to demand her in marriage, in order to ſecure a peace April
with England [8]; but which was to be effected this year by an alliance with her younger ſiſter.

Albany's arrival was delayed by the French monarch, as his government in Scotland might have proved an obſtacle to

[5] O. Dacre to Henry, 10 March 1514. Cal. B. VI, 48.
[6] Ibid. [7] Ibid.
[8] All theſe particulars, ſo remote from hiſtorical accounts, are from O. Dacre to Henry, 8 April 1514, Cal. B. III, 25. If the French king incline to marry her, he may have her, ſays Dacre.

the

1514 the treaty negotiating between England and France. The public expectation of his regency was great, and it was regarded as the ſole remedy which could terminate the diſorders of the kingdom. Nor were ſome wanting, who, either from malice or from too much zeal, openly propoſed his aſſumption of the Scotiſh ſceptre, as a meaſure neceſſary for the ſecurity of the ſtate [9].

Amid ſuch violence of party the public confuſion was increaſed by a variance which aroſe between Home and the youthful earl of Angus, who had juſt ſucceeded his grandfather in that potent title, his father having been ſlain at Flodden. They often met in arms; but the intervention of mutual friends, or of authority, prevented bloodſhed [1]. In the north of Scotland Robertſon of Strowan, with a band of eight hundred followers, ravaged Athole, and the neighbouring parts; but he was ſoon taken and executed [2].

30 April The queen being delivered of a poſthumous ſon [3], the meeting of parliament was delayed till her recovery, and did not take July place till July, when a temporary regency was ſettled, by Albany's conſent, on the queen, and ſome lords, apparently James Beton archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and the earls of Huntley, Angus, and Arran [4]. The king and his brother were, with the queen's approbation, aſſigned to the cuſtody of three prudent peers. She notified theſe meaſures to Henry VIII; and at the ſame time informed him of her deſire of concord between her brother and France, and herſelf and Albany, and beſought him to ſecond her wiſhes [5].

[9] O. Chriſtopher Coo to Wolſey 1 April 1514. B. VI, 77. [4] Ibid.

[1] Buch. XIII. 47. Leſley, 382, dates this event 1516, and he is a ſuperior chronologer. On the 20th June 1515 a *comprizing* was *led* by Athole againſt Robertſon of Strowan. Scotſt. Cal. The point is minute and doubtful.

[3] Leſl. 369. [4] O. Margaret to Dacre 20 Aug. 1514, B. VI, 78. [5] Ibid.

To

To the ſurprize and regret of all ranks, Margaret hardly recovered from the languor of childbirth, ſuddenly wedded the earl of Angus [6], inſtigated in all appearance ſolely by the efferveſcence of amorous inclination; for this precipitate ſtep was ruinous to her ambition, as of itſelf, by the royal will, and by the law of the country, it terminated her regency. In the progreſs of time however various incidents will contribute to reſtore her power; and ſhe continued to attract great attention by the ſplendor of her birth and former ſtation, by the art of her intrigues, and the boldneſs of her talents. The nobility of Scotland were, at this period, little remarkable for natural abilities, and far leſs for thoſe which depend on learning; the clergy had engroſſed all that belongs to acquired knowledge, and political capacity; but among the Scotiſh nobles Angus was perhaps the moſt uninformed, and unfit for his dangerous elevation, for his royal marriage prompted him to aſſume much of the vacant government, and the queen's fondneſs ſeconded his ambition. Experience, and maturer age, will diſplay him in a different light; but at this time his years, and his inſtruction, partook of puerility [7]. A birth diſtinguiſhed by an anceſtry of heroes, opulent poſſeſſions, a potent vaſſalry, above all a perſon blooming with youth and elegance, tranſported the woman, while they ruined the queen; and bitter and ſpeedy was the repentance. 1514 6 Aug.

A treaty was at length completed between England and France, and cemented by the marriage of Louis XII to Mary the ſiſter of the Scotiſh dowager. Scotland was to be included, if upon a notification of the peace ſhe teſtified a deſire to that effect; but if the Scots invaded England after the 7 Aug.

[6] Leſl. 370.

[7] In a letter to the Engliſh council, 7 Aug. 1515, B. II, 301, Dacre deſcribes Angus as "childiſh young," and accompanied by no wiſe counſellors.

1514 15th of September, before which date the notification was to be made, the comprehenſion was to become null [8]. No invaſion took place, but petty incurſions continued to be made by the Scots; and it was not till the following May that they formally accepted the treaty; the internal confuſions, the difficulty of adjuſting the affairs of the marches, the knowledge of Henry's pacific intentions, the ſudden death of Louis XII, deference to Albany, and repeated expectations of his arrival, affording various and ſucceſſive cauſes for this delay. Add to theſe that the terror ariſing from the recent diſaſter had paſt away; and the nation was animated with a fruitleſs deſire of revenge.

The Scotiſh kings maintained their privilege, or prerogative, of appointing to the vacant ſees and abbacies the objects of their own choice, notwithſtanding the papal pretenſions uſurped in ſome other countries. Repeated letters to the pope, and ſenate of cardinals [9], concerning the new appointments now neceſſary, ſupported the royal claim; though they allowed the conſent of the popes to be an indiſpenſable form to complete the election. The vacant dignities were thus aſſigned: the metropolitan ſee of St. Andrews to William Elphinſton the learned and celebrated biſhop of Aberdeen, the biſhopric of Aberdeen to George abbot of Holyroodhouſe; the abbacy of Holyroodhouſe to him of Cambuſkenneth, the latter dignity to the biſhop of Caithneſs, Arbroth to Gawin Douglas, Dunfermlin to James Hepburn, Inchaffray to Alexander Stuart, Glenluce to the biſhop of Liſmore or Argyle, Coldingham to David Hume, all perſons of eminent families [1]. The letters to Leo X are addreſſed in the name of the king, and of the queen dow-

[8] Rymer, XIII, 419.
[9] Epiſt. R. S. I, 197, 204, 207.
[1] Ibid. 199.

ager

ager as "teſtamentary tutrix of the king." As the eccleſi- 1514
aſtic dignities preſented almoſt the only path to opulence, the
commerce of the country being confined, and its purſuits little
known to perſons of rank, it is no wonder that warm conteſts
had ariſen concerning the promotions. The death of the
venerable Elphinſton, in his ſeventy ſeventh year, renewed 25 Oct.
the ambitious ſcene[2]. Of the other names Gawin Douglas
alone deſerves to be known to poſterity; and the ſon and uncle
of earls of Angus, the now poſtulate of Arbroth and future
biſhop of Dunkeld, is not only celebrated as an eminent poet,
but as an actor in the theatre of hiſtory[3].

The Engliſh and Scotiſh commiſſioners met at Berwick; Nov.
but the abſence of Angus occaſioned a delay prejudicial to the
Engliſh borders, for the Scots made inroads into Glendale and
Ilandſhire, deſpoiled towns, and made captives[4]. The in-
teſtine diſputes now aroſe to the utmoſt height. The expecta-
tion of Albany's ſpeedy arrival excited the confidence of his
adherents; while Henry, diſguſted by his ſiſter's marrying
without his conſent, and by the appointment of Albany to the
regency, rather ſtudied to increaſe the flames of diſcord, than
to maintain a firm and regulated party. Albany now de-
manded Dunbar caſtle, as a part of the earldom of March,
which was infeoffed to Margaret with the exception of that
important fortreſs, juſtly regarded as a key of the kingdom.
It was accordingly rendered to his commiſſioner D'Arcy de la

[2] Leſl. 372. Keith Biſhops, 70, ex obit. Glaſg.

[3] Margaret in a letter to her brother Henry, 23 Nov. 1514, B. I, 164, informs him, that Home had aſſumed all the power, and had ſeized the eſcheat of a baſtard worth 10,000*l.* Scots; and that ſhe is at great expence, having always 1000 men in wages: ſhe deſires Henry to haſten an army, and navy; and that her letters ſigned only "Margaret R." may be regarded as conſtrained, while her willing ſignature is "Your loſing ſiſter Margaret R."

[4] O. Council at York to Wolſey, 5 Nov. 1514, B. VI, 79.

1514 Baſtie [9]. The queen began to be treated with diſreſpect. She was brought from Stirling to Edinburgh by Arran and Home, in expectation of the chancellor and council being willing to ſupport her authority; but ſhe was diſappointed, and returned with Angus to Stirling [1]. The new chancellor who now firſt appears [2] after a vacancy of that great office, ſince the death of its laſt poſſeſſor in the field of Flodden, was James Beton archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and afterwards of St. Andrews, an ambitious prelate, and a warm partizan of Albany, and of the French intereſt. He was probably appointed chancellor in the parliament of July; and was to act a diſtinguiſhed part during this minority. An additional inſult to the queen aroſe from the election of Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, to that eminent ſee, by the chapter; though Margaret had eagerly ſupported Gawin Douglas, her uncle-in-law. The ſervants of Douglas had even ſeized the archiepiſcopal caſtle; but were beſieged by Hepburn, whoſe claim was favoured by moſt of the nobility, at this time, (if we only except the family of Angus,) unanimouſly inimical to the queen, and to the Engliſh intereſt. Angus rode with two hundred horſe to reſcue the caſtle [3]; but the attempt was fruitleſs, and Hepburn retained for a ſhort time the fortreſs and nominal dignity; till, by the interceſſion of Albany at Rome, it was conferred on Andrew
Dec. Forman, biſhop of Moray, an artful and avaricious prelate, whoſe character is already depicted in the preceding book. Not contented with the archbiſhopric of Bourges in France, and the abbey of Cottingham in England, and other rewards

[9] O. Dacre to the Council, 27 Nov. 1514. B. I, 154.

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. and letter Margaret to Henry, 23 Nov. before quoted. Never was there ſo much tumult in Scotland, ſays Dacre, "which pray God continue." Pious malevolence!

of

of treachery to his king and country, his avarice and ambition aſpired to, and gained, the metropolitan office and opulence; nay, along with this, the abbacies of Dunfermlin and Arbroth, to the great diſguſt of the queen, Angus, and their adherents [4]. 1514

The earls of Lennox and Glencairn, embracing the opportunity of a dark and tempeſtuous night, ſeized the caſtle of Dunbarton by breaking open the lower gate, and ejecting Erſkine the governor [5], in all appearance the creature of the queen. The enmity of the earls of Angus and Arran proceeded to ſuch a height, that they collected large bands of their followers, and ravaged each other's poſſeſſions [6]. Margaret's precipitate marriage had alienated all the nobility; the Engliſh intereſt, which faintly dawned during her ſhort regency, was completely loſt, although Henry encouraged a report that he intended the elder ſon of his ſiſter to be his ſucceſſor in England, while the younger ſwayed the Scotiſh ſceptre [7]. His ſtern and impetuous temper could little ſtoop to diſſimulation; and he was now exerting all his art and influence to perſuade the queen to leave Scotland, where ſhe could no longer ſerve his deſigns, and privately to convey both the royal infants into England. Adam Williamſon, a native of Scotland [8], probably an eccleſiaſtic but eſtabliſhed in England, and now

[4] *Leſl.* 374. Buchanan's praiſe of this avaricious primate muſt proceed either from miſinformation, or gratitude. His numerous benefices ſufficiently confirm the covetous and deſigning character, aſſigned to him in the original letters. The connection of Albany with Hepburn is unknown in theſe records, and ſeems contradicted by this incident.

[5] Leſl. ib. O. Sir James Inglis to Williamſon, 21 Jan. 1515, B. I, 22. Perhaps it was on Arran's account, who aſpired to the regency, that Lennox thus acted, for they ſoon appear in ſtrict alliance. Leſl. 380.

[6] Leſl. 374. [7] O. Lord Fleming to ..... 11 Dec. 1514, B. I, 25.

[8] For he terms James, and Roſs, "my natyf kyng and prince." C. Adam Williamſon to Margaret 27 Jan. 1515. B. III, 152.

a con-

1514 a confidential envoy or ſpy of the Engliſh intereſt, eagerly promoted this dark deſign; but without ſucceſs as ſhall preſently be explained.

1515 Amid the public tumults and diſtraction, opens the year one thouſand five hundred and fifteen, replete with the moſt ſurprizing events and changes of fortune, and which was for the firſt time to preſent to the aſtoniſhed nation a deputy from France, publickly declaring the French monarch his maſter, in the auguſt character of Regent of Scotland. The death of
1 Jan. Louis XII, and acceſſion of Francis I, occaſioned no alteration in the politics of France; and the new monarch ſoon after confirmed the peace concluded with England [9]. Yet theſe events contributed to protract the arrival of Albany in Scotland till the month of May.

Meanwhile the national diſorders increaſed to ſuch a degree, that it became impoſſible to paſs from one place to another ex-
11 Jan. cept in armed companies [1]. Angus having met Lennox in a conference at Glaſgow, was waited for on his return by an ambuſcade of ſix hundred men provided with artillery, and placed by Arran, ſometimes ſtyled lord Hamilton, to deſtroy his mortal foe: but a ſcout of the Hamiltons being taken by the followers of Angus the ſcheme failed. Hamilton then requeſted the preſence of Home the chamberlain, Caſſils, and Sempil, at Lanark, and propoſed to them to beſiege Angus in one of his caſtles, but the chamberlain diſſented [2]. Nor could the

[9] 14 March, Rymer, XIII, 476. Hungary, Scotland, Portugal, Denmark, Navarre, are included on the part of France, p. 482.

[1] O. Sir James Inglis to Williamſon, 21 Jan. 1515, B. I, 22.

[2] Ibid. The caſtle is named *Cowtheler*.

In this curious letter Sir James alſo mentions his own attachment to England, and his kind reception by Dacre and Magnus: a report had even ariſen that he had conveyed James into England. He adds that it is the cuſtom of Scotland for

the fallen power of the queen reſent this attempt on the life of her huſband; and her revenues being dilapidated ſhe was unable to maintain even a pecuniary influence. Yet the biſhopric of Dunkeld now becoming vacant, ſhe retained intereſt ſufficient to procure that ſee, the third in the realm [3], for Gawin Douglas; that of St. Andrews, to which he aſpired, being now filled by Forman, who by the interceſſion of Albany at Rome, and the power of the Homes, had ejected Hepburn. The new archbiſhop held the dignity ſeven years, and his expenditure equalling his avarice and ambition, he proved a powerful friend to Albany, and even now lent the greateſt ſupport to his pretenſions; and in return became the chief manager of eccleſiaſtic promotions. Yet ſhame prevented any further oppoſition to Gawin Douglas, and the intereſt of the Engliſh king at Rome was requeſted [4], and probably exerted, in his behalf. The power of the queen alſo began ſomewhat to revive by the acceſſion of the powerful earl of Huntley, and ſome peers addicted to him, to her party [5]; the motives of this change are not apparent, but probably aroſe from the appointment of Crawford to the adminiſtration of juſtice on the north

1515

15 Jan.

for every man to ſpeak freely, that the ſervant was more abundant in his own ſenſe than the maſter; and that none of God's commands was obſerved except the firſt, and that in no great degree. He knows not on whoſe behalf Lennox has taken Dunbarton; but lord Drummond has induced Huntley and Marſhal to join the queen: and he concludes with an injunction of ſtrict ſecrecy. The ſubſcription is, "Tuus Engliſh."

Sir James was not a knight, but a clergyman, the *Sir* being a common addition of every chaplain in that time. He appears to have been a relation of Mr. Alex. Inglis, archdeacon of St. Andrews. See 1531.

[3] O. Gawin Douglas to Williamſon, 18 Jan. 1515, Cal. B. II. 292. It was only ſurpaſſed by the two archbiſhoprics.

[4] O. Gawin Douglas to Dacre, 21 Jan. 1515, Cal. B. I, 27. O. Margaret to Henry, 22 Jan. Cal. B. III, 273.

[5] O. Gawin Douglas to Williamſon, 18 Jan. Cal. B. II, 292.

of

1515 of the Forth, an office worthy of Huntley's rivalry and envy. By the advice of this peer the queen ordered a parliament to be proclaimed, to be held at Perth on the twelfth day of March [6].

Yet Henry, deſpairing of managing Scotland by ſupporting his ſiſter's power, perſiſted, by the intermediation of Dacre, in his attempt to perſuade Margaret ſecretly to convey herſelf, and her ſons, into England. This diſgraceful plot was conducted, as above mentioned, by Adam Williamſon, who uſed every artifice, and exhauſted every offer of advantage, to win the queen's conſent, and the interceſſion of Gawin Douglas, in ſupport of this deſperate ſcheme. To the former he preſented the ambitious hope that her ſon would be declared apparent heir of the Engliſh throne [7]; to the latter he diſplayed promiſes of whatever Scotiſh benefices he pleaſed, by Henry's influence at Rome, and as warm a welcome at the Engliſh court, as he could have expected at the caſtle of Douglas, the chief reſidence of Angus his nephew [8]. In a letter to Gawin
20 Jan. Douglas, ſent by Sir James Inglis ſecretary to queen Margaret, and who was apparently concerned in the deſign, Williamſon enforces the propoſal; and brands Forman, whom he ſtill calls biſhop of Moray, with a charge of treaſon, and the celebrated Panter, ſecretary to the council, with falſehood, becauſe he
21 Jan. feared their penetration [9]. Douglas in his anſwer firmly rejects the propoſal, though he was at that time ſoliciting Henry's intereſt for his promotion, and informs Williamſon that the queen and her ſons cannot ſafely be conveyed to England; that

[6] Ibid. [7] O. Williamſon to G. Douglas, 20 Jan. 1515, B. VI, 113.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid. "Falſe Panter;" the biſhop of Moray, *a traitor*, has acquired all the beſt benefices in Scotland. The charge of treaſon againſt this prelate, who ſold his benefactor James IV to France, is not unfounded.

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the queen might herſelf go, but not without peril and impro- 1515
priety; that Henry's letters will terminate all debates, and he will be as well obeyed by moſt of the Scotiſh lords as at London; that if Henry would ſend an army to ſupport the queen and infant king, numbers would accede, for the Scots were ſo oppreſſed that they would prefer even the Turkiſh dominion to the conſtant ravages of freebooters [1]. In a letter to Dacre 22 Jan.
the queen expreſſed her own ſentiments, with thoſe of her huſband and uncle-in-law, that the ſcheme was unſafe if not impracticable [2]. At the ſame time ſhe ordered Williamſon to return to England, but gave him a letter of credence to Henry in which ſhe informs her brother that ſhe regrets the impoſſibility of her fulfilling his deſire, as ſhe is ſurrounded by conſtant guards and ſpies; but were ſhe a woman of ſo little note that ſhe could carry her children in her arms, ſhe would not long be abſent from him: Margaret adds that ſhe has exhauſted her pecuniary reſources, and that if no ſupply be ſent ſhe muſt accede to ſome other party; a claim, and an honeſt or at leaſt open duplicity, not unfrequent in her correſpondence: ſhe concludes with referring Henry to Williamſon for any other information [3]. Dacre and Williamſon repeated their efforts to 27 Jan.
accompliſh this deſign; the former repreſented to the queen that, even if Albany did not arrive, her enemies might ſeize the royal children, and the ſupreme power; that it was in vain for her to pretend that ſhe would abide by the advice of the lords of her council in this matter; and that, if ſhe conſent, he will undertake to convey her and the children from Douglas

[1] O. Gawin Douglas to Williamſon, 21 Jan. B. II, 291. The queen might retire to England, but with danger, and "nocht honeſtly."

[2] O. Margaret to Dacre, 22 Jan. B. I, 28.

[3] O. Margaret to Henry, 22 Jan. B. III, 273.

1515 caſtle, or any place within ten miles on the ſouth of Stirling [4], Williamſon reinforces the offers to the queen, and Gawin Douglas; inſinuates his attachment to the infant king, and duke of Roſs, as his native princes; and affects diſintereſtedneſs by commemorating the loſs of his property in Scotland, occaſioned by his zeal for the queen and her ſons: the apprehenſions of danger he attempts to repell by the ſpeed, and eaſe, with which Dacre could conduct the fugitives to Carliſle [5]. But all theſe temptations were vain; and when the eternal infamy and ruin, which would have attended the houſe of Angus after ſuch an attempt, are conſidered, greater ſurprize will be excited by the inſidious depravity of Henry, than by the prudent conduct of the queen and her adherents; for the propoſition was in itſelf an inſult, as it implied thoſe, whoſe ears it polluted, to be capable of ſo great a political crime.

Of the parliament, proclaimed to be held on the twelfth day of March, no record appears, except a ſlight notice of Leſley the hiſtorian, who informs us that a national council met about this time, but ſuch were the diſſentions that it was agreed to poſtpone it till the arrival of Albany now daily expected, for Sir John Stirling of Keir had landed from France with a
14 Mar. meſſage of that purport [6]. Francis I having ſolemnly ratified the peace entered into with England by his predeceſſor, Scotland continued to be included, though ſhe had not as yet accepted this benefit. The diſtracted ſtate of that country prevented any attack on England: and Henry was now uſing arts which open force would only have defeated. So ſucceſsful were thoſe arts that Albany's government was undermined,

[4] O. Dacre to Margaret, 27 Jan. B. II, 244.

[5] O. Williamſon to Margaret, 27 Jan. B. III, 152.

[6] Leſl. 375. O. Gawin Douglas, in future to be ſtyled biſhop of Dunkeld, to Wolſey, 27 Feb. 1515, B. I, 77.

before

before it was eſtabliſhed; and two years of conſtant inquietude were to terminate his firſt reſidence in Scotland, in the character of Regent. It has already been related that Huntley had acceded to the queen's party; and the arts and offers of Dacre now determined Home to embrace the ſame meaſures. The articles offered to this nobleman by Margaret yet remain [7]: upon condition that he ſupport her and Angus, ſhe agrees, among other advantages, to give him the ſum of three thouſand marks. Home warmly embraced the Engliſh intereſt; and his enmity to Albany brought him ſoon to the ſcaffold. It appears that Albany had long before uſed the power of a regent, and had diſguſted ſome of the nobles by not granting their demands. D'Arcy de la Baſtie, a knight of valour and talents, had remained in Scotland as a delegate of the future regent; and many were averſe to this influence of a foreigner. 1515 12 May

La Vaire and Villebreſme, embaſſadors from France, having arrived in Scotland, to ſignify the deſire of Francis and Albany that the Scots ſhould accept the comprehenſion in the treaty [8], and Baltazar Stuart the papal nuntio joining his efforts to that effect [9], the pacification was at length ſolemnly admitted by the Scotiſh government. In a letter from the council of ſtate, in the name of the infant king, to the French monarch, this incluſion is received with great ſpirit: the council aſſert that Scotland, after its recent loſs had reſumed courage, and, hoping revenge, had never even mentioned a truce; but that to pleaſe Francis and the pontiff, and promote the propoſed war againſt 15 May

[7] O. Cal. B. II, 226. That Home had been inſtigated by Dacre againſt Albany appears from a letter of Dacre to the Council, 7 Aug. 1515, B. II, 301.

[8] O. La Vaire and Villebreſme to Wolſey, 7 May 1515, B. VI, 104.

[9] O. Baltazar Stuart to Wolſey, 4 May 1515, B. VI, 109; whence it alſo appears that D'Arcy was regarded as the deputy of Albany.

1515 the Turks, the Scotiſh ſovereign had approved and ratified the treaty [1].

Great was the general expectation of Albany's preſence; and the delay of a year had raiſed that expectation to eager deſire. His arrival was fondly longed for, as the ſole remedy of the public diſorders, as the ſole pledge of a tranquillity, ſo much the more happy as it was to ſucceed the darkeſt tempeſts of anarchy. The young, and the turbulent, were not averſe to the novelty; the old, and the peaceable, ſighed for the protection and ſtability of a regular government. This event at length happened. Albany arrived at Dunbarton on the
18 May eighteenth of May with eight ſhips, apparently part of the fleet of James IV, laden with ammunition, and warlike ſtores, and with yet ſtronger implements of government, the gold and luxuries of France [2]. The peers and chiefs crowded to his preſence; and his exotic elegance of manners, his condeſcenſion, his affability, his courtly deportment, won all hearts. Proceeding to Glaſgow he reconciled ſome of the diſcordant
26 May nobles by power and perſuaſion. He thence advanced to Edinburgh the capital city, where he was received with the magnificence due to a ſovereign; and the citizens diſplayed their arts and opulence in rude comedies, and multifarious exhibitions of barbaric ſplendor and elegance. Nor did the queen refuſe her preſence, who meeting him at the gate of the palace of Holyroodhouſe, great profeſſions of affected kindneſs were interchanged [3].

[1] Rymer, XIII, 508, 509.

[2] Buch. XIV, 1. Leſl. 375, Lindſay, 192. The dates vary, as uſual, for chronology is unknown to our hiſtorians. A letter of James to the pope, 3 July 1515, fixes Albany's arrival to the 18th May. Rymer, XIII, 513.

[3] Leſl. 375, 376.

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As ſoon as the forms would permit a parliament was aſſem- 1515
bled at Edinburgh, where the firſt care, after the reſtitution of 12 July
his honours and eſtates, was to inaugurate Albany in the regency, a ceremony performed with invidious ſplendor. A ſword was delivered; a crown was placed upon his head; and the peers paid ſolemn obeiſance, while Albany was, with martial muſic, proclaimed Protector and Governor of Scotland, till the king had attained the age of eighteen years, that is till April one thouſand five hundred and thirty [4].

John duke of Albany, ſon of that Alexander who has been ſeen attempting to wreſt the Scotiſh ſceptre from his brother James III, whom he termed a baſtard, cannot be ſuppoſed to have been warmly attached to the royal race; and there were not wanting ſome whoſe malice already ſaw the crown of Scotland on his head, tinged with infant blood [5]. But ſuch a proſpect probably never exiſted, ſave in the jealous eye, or wanton calumny, of faction. His character is ſo mixed, that it is very difficult to delineate it with preciſion. To Surrey and to Wolſey he appeared a coward and a fool, as they bluntly expreſs their ſenſations [6]; and his government in Scotland, ſo inconſiſtent, ſo conſtantly foiled in every ſcheme, rather ſeems to warrant the harſhneſs of the appellations. Yet Francis I, a good judge of merit, was afterwards to employ him in important affairs: when that king was before Pavia, in 1525, Albany was to be detached with a part of the army to conquer the kingdom of Naples, an enterprize demanding a general of ſupreme talents, but the defeat and cap-

[4] O. Dacre to the Council of England, 1 Aug. 1515. B. II, 281.

[5] Margaret's Information, 1516. B. VI, 105.

[6] Particularly Wolſey, who in a letter to Surrey, 1523, Cal. B. VI, 218, ſays Albany, "is known to be a coward, and a furious and wilful fool."

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1515 ture of Francis rendered the plan abortive[7]: in 1533, when that monarch was to meet the pontiff Clement VII at Marſeilles, Albany was to be diſtinguiſhed by the appointment of conducting by ſea Catherine de Medici, the deſtined wife of Henry, ſecond ſon of the king, afterwards Henry II; an office at leaſt implying confidence and favour, and a brother of Albany was, according to Guicciardini, created a cardinal upon occaſion of that ſervice[8]. The friendſhip of Francis I is itſelf a recommendation: yet an intimate acquaintance with the actions and papers of Albany may authorize the following character of his government. It was artful yet weak, profuſe yet unfriended, tyrannic yet inefficient: while love and attachment were eſtranged by caprice, fear and awe were not ſupported by uniform rigour: opiniative obſtinacy diſconcerted the prudence of friends, and prevented the conciliation of enemies. A ſtranger to the arts of empire, Albany, whom juſt policy ought to have transformed into a complete Scotiſhman, never forgot his French birth; and the haughty vanity of that nation, which he diſplayed without a veil, yet further diſguſted the

[7] Guicciardini lib. XV, XVI, p. 1195, 1221, edit. 1561, 8vo, "il duca d'Albania, come hebbe auuiſo della calamita del Re, ritirato per ſalvarſi, &c." Rabelais in his letters, (Oeuv. III, 5, edit. Amſt. 1741, 4to,) has the following remark on this occaſion, "Voila que fait mauvais avis, de partir ſon oſt devant la victoire. Les François en ſçauroient bien que dire, quand de devant Pavie Monſieur d'Albanie emmena la fleur et la force du camp."

[8] Lib. XX, p. 471, 473, edit. 1564, 4to. the original editions are uſed. This brother was only uterine, his name Philippe de la Chambre. Mezeray, Abr. IV, 575, edit. Amſt. 1688.

The favour of Francis was ſuch, that Albany was admitted to his chamber, when no prince of France dared to approach. O. letter Engliſh embaſſador in France, Cal. D. VIII, not paged. But this courteſy appears to have ariſen from Albany's facetious converſation: and a jeſt of the duke, who miſrepreſented to Clement VII the deſire of ſome French ladies to *uſe fleſh* in lent, has been preſerved by Brantome, Dames Gal. II, 356.

Scots,

Scots, a people then from remote ſituation, and want of intercourſe, inimical to foreigners, when they beheld their regent ſurrounded with French officers and conſidents, and heard him ſubmit to term the king of France his maſter, an epithet he frequently uſed even in his diſpatches [7]; nor was the very ſignature of his name in French regarded as a trifle [8]. Even his private faults contributed to diſgrace him. Surrey, in a letter to Wolſey, mentions upon the authority of Dacre, that the regent was ſo opiniative, that no counſel but his own was followed even when among his familiar friends; and his wilfulneſs was ſuch that, upon the ſlighteſt contradiction, he would throw his bonnet into the fire, in which mode of argument he had conſumed near a dozen of thoſe miſſive ſyllogiſms. Surrey adds, with the prophetic eye of ſkill, "if he be ſuch a man, with God's grace, we ſhall ſpeed the better;" a prediction ſoon fulfilled [9]. Of Albany's perſon little is remarked: even his age is unknown; though he appears to have exceeded his thirtieth year. His mother was the daughter of the earl of Bologne, his father's ſecond wife [1]; but by the firſt, a daughter of the earl of Orkney, a ſon was alive, Alexander Stuart, educated to the church, commendator of Inchaffray, afterwards abbot of Scone, and biſhop of Moray. The regent had himſelf been married in 1505 to Anne de la Tour, ſole heireſs of the county d'Auvergne, the maternal aunt of the future Catherine de Medici [2]; his wife's eſtate in France was great, 1515

[7] Cal. B. VI, 136, &c. &c.

[8] He always ſubſcribes JEHAN, or JEHAN R.

[9] O. Surrey to Wolſey, 8 Oct. 1523. Cal. B. VI, 315.

[1] She ſeems again to have married, after Alexander duke of Albany was ſlain, whence the French uterine brother of the regent.

[2] L'Art de Verifier les Dates, p. 726, 860. The learned Du Chat, in his notes on Rabelais, III, 65, obſerves that Albany had no children by his wife, "Anne

1515 great, and ſecured his allegiance to that country, while his connection with the houſe of Medici gave him great influence with the popes Leo X and Clement VII, ſprung of that illuſtrious family.

When Albany aſſumed the regency, the moſt powerful peers in Scotland were Angus, Huntley, Arran, Home, Argyle, and Lennox. Angus was yet young and unexperienced; Huntley continued to be regarded as the chief leader in the north of Scotland, till his death in 1524; Arran, though poſſeſſed of large eſtates and vaſſalage, and ſtrengthened by his connection with the royal blood, was a nobleman of mean talents; and Dacre conſiders Home in the ſame light, and undervalues his power[3], though ſo much exalted by ſome of our hiſtorians; his unreſiſted fall ſhews that what influence he ever poſſeſſed reſted chiefly in the favour of his late ſovereign. Argyle and Lennox commonly acted in concert, and their extenſive feudal authority in the weſt of Scotland gave them great weight. But cultivated talents, and application to ſtate affairs, had elevated many churchmen to eminent ſtations in the government. The important office of chancellor was enjoyed by James Beton archbiſhop of Glaſgow; that of treaſurer, the third in the kingdom, was filled by Cuthbert commendator of

" Anne de la Tour, dicte de Boulogne, Conteſſe d'Auvergne, et de Lauragais; fille de Jean III Conte d'Auvergne, et de Jeanne de Bourbon. Il eut pour niepce, du coté maternel, Catherine de Medicis Reyne de France, fille de ſa belle-ſœur, Magdeleine de la Tour, ducheſſe d'Urbin." Albany's wife appears to have been ſickly, and ſhe died in 1524, leaving the county of Auvergne to Catherine de Medici, and it is now united to the crown of France. L'Art, 726. Her Huſband ſurvived her at leaſt twelve years; but it appears not that he had a liferent of Auvergne.

The date of his father's marriage, and death, have not been diſcovered.

John duke of Albany had a natural daughter Leonora, married to John de l'Hoſpital count of Choiſy. Anderſon's Gen.

[3] O. Clarenceux to Wolſey, 18 Feb. 1516, B. II, 298.

Glenluce:

Glenluce [4]: Gawin Dunbar archdeacon of St. Andrews was 1515
lord regiſter: and the avaricious primate Forman had crowded ſo many benefices and advantages into his own poſſeſſion, that Albany was ſoon after conſtrained to divide them, in order to appeaſe the univerſal outcry [5].

The parliament, which had aſſembled at Edinburgh, was contented with enacting a ſtatute to maintain the antient freedom, privileges, and immunities of the Scotiſh church; and another, puniſhing the maſter or maintainer of a robber, in the ſame manner as the culprit, upon a refuſal to yield him to law, an ordinance extorted by the preceding diſorders [6].

Haughty and ſevere meaſures marked the commencement of Albany's government; and he reſolved to impreſs his enemies with terror, inſtead of winning them by conciliation, a method which his caprice was obliged afterwards to adopt, when it was too late, his preceding rigour having ſown ſeeds of an enmity, too wide and deep ever to be eradicated. Had his frown been that of impartial juſtice, it would have been laudable, as neceſſary to awe an ariſtocracy, and nation, from long anarchy deaf to the mild voice of the law; but it was the queen, and the houſes of Angus and Home, his perſonal enemies, not thoſe of public order, againſt whom the thunder of his power was directed. Hardly was the rod of regency put into his hands before he committed the venerable lord 16 July
Drummond, maternal grandfather of Angus, and conſtable of Stirling caſtle, a cloſe priſoner to the fortreſs of Blackneſs; upon pretence that a year before Albany arrived he had ſtruck the lyon herald on the breaſt, who brought to the queen a meſſage from the lords connected with Albany [7]. Margaret

[4] Crawf. Off. 369. [5] Leſl. 381. [6] Acts, f. 112.

[7] O. Dacre to the Council, 1 Aug. 1515, B. II, 281. C. Margaret's Declaration 1516, B. VI, 105. Leſley, 376.

1515 accuſes the herald of inſolence; and as the king was in her hands, and the herald's authority dubious, the zeal of Drummond might have been ſufficiently puniſhed by a reprimand. Nor had the abilities and diſappointments of Gawin Douglas any weight with the regent, who accuſed him of ſoliciting the biſhopric of Dunkeld, through the influence of the queen and Henry with the pope; and ſent him to the durance of the ſea-tower at St. Andrews[8]. In vain did the queen, to uſe her own words, preſent herſelf at Holyroodhouſe before Albany, "ſore weeping," and intreating mercy for her counſellors Drummond and Dunkeld: her tears and ſupplications met with cold neglect, and ſhe returned to the caſtle of Edinburgh, in which ſhe now reſided, as being a part of her enfeoffment, amid ſolitude and conſternation. For her other counſellors, excepting only Angus and Home the chamberlain, and even many of her ſervants, now withdrew in terror[9]. The royal children were yet with her; but an attempt was ſoon made to deprive her even of this maternal conſolation.

The regent directed that the ſhires and towns ſhould be ruled by the uſual magiſtrates, as in the reign of James IV; yet the Engliſh influence was excited even to diſtract this ſalutary deſign, and Henry exulted in diſturbing where he could not command[1]. Hence the national tranquillity was little better eſtabliſhed during the regency of Albany, than in his abſence; and the general hope and wiſh were ſoon diſappointed. The council of England had deſired Dacre to procure, by the influence of Home or ſome other great lord, an embaſſy to be ſent to England concerning a laſting peace; and at the ſame time to uſe every art in order to prolong the diſſentions between Albany and Angus, and by inventions to raiſe jealouſy

[8] Dacre, B. II, 281. [9] C. Margaret's Declaration, 1516, B. VI, 105.
[1] Dacre to the Council, B. II, 281.

and

and ſuſpicion between Albany and Home, ſo that the latter might be more and more firmly attached to Angus and the Engliſh intereſt[2]. Dacre not only ſucceeded in theſe meaſures, but began to win other Scotiſh nobles diſguſted with the regent's haughtineſs, or neglect; and the baton of Albany, entwiſted with thorns, was ſoon to torture his raſh and unſkillful hand. In vain did he feign amity to England, in vain did he ſtoop, on the return of the Unicorn herald, even to proclaim the peace himſelf, to continue as long as France and England ſhould maintain their treaty; while the people ſmiled to ſee their governor appear in this new character, at the croſs of Edinburgh, and by the voice of trumpets announce his own neglect of his dignity[3]. 1515

Though certain lords had long before been appointed by the council of ſtate, as already mentioned, to whoſe cuſtody the king was committed, yet the royal children remained in the queen's care, to whom the lords guardians were ſubordinate, as no mandate had been iſſued by parliament to withdraw them from their mother, whoſe tender attentions formed the beſt ſecurity of their infant health and welfare; nor had the power of the queen and Angus been ſo enfeebled as to render ſuch a mandate, if it had been given, of eaſy execution. It was not only a moſt important object in itſelf for Albany to get poſſeſſion of the king and his brother, as the ſureſt pledges of power, but the clandeſtine negotiation for conveying them to England, which certainly did not wholly eſcape the regent's ear, authorized the attempt; and had they even been ſent to France, as it happened to the infant Mary in her ſubſequent reign, the long concord between that country and Scotland rendered ſuch an event not illaudable; whereas between

[2] O. Dacre to the Council, 1 Aug. 1515, B. II, 281. [3] Ibid.

1515 England and Scotland there had been continued enmity; and a treaty, a ranſom, degrading conditions, muſt at leaſt have been neceſſary for their reſtoration. Accordingly the regent induced the national council, ſtill aſſembled at Edinburgh, to name eight lords[4], from whom Albany, or lots, ſelected four; and from theſe four the queen was to chuſe three, having, in other words, the power of rejecting any one whom ſhe moſt diſliked. Theſe three peers were to have the cuſtody of the king and his brother, wholly independent of the queen; and under no appointment nor controul, except of the parliament, or rather of Albany. The four peers proceeded from the parliament houſe to the caſtle of Edinburgh in due ſolemnity, amid a concourſe of people aſſembled to behold this new and grand ſcene; a queen, a mother, ſurrendering her children to the repreſentatives of the nation. On their approach the gates were thrown open; and the people beheld with ſympathy and admiration the young and beautiful queen, ſtanding at the entrance with the infant king by her ſide, his hand locked in hers; behind was the nurſe with the other royal babe in her arms; around appeared Angus, and a few attendants. The ſhouts of acclamation having ceaſed, and the parliamentary delegates being near, Margaret, with infinite grace and majeſty, exclaimed to them aloud, "Stand. Declare the cauſe of your coming." The peers, anſwering that they were ſent by the parliament to demand their king and his brother, were ſtruck with awe and confuſion when the queen's command reſounded, "Drop the portcullis!" This maſſy grate of iron being inſtantly let down, between Margaret and the aſtoniſhed delegates, ſhe thus addreſſed them: "This caſtle is part of my enfeoffment, and of it by my late huſband the king was I made

about 22 July

[4] This narrative is wholly derived from the long and intereſting letter of Dacre, laſt quoted.

ſole

ſole governeſs; nor to any mortal ſhall I yield the important command. But I reſpect the parliament, and nation; and requeſt ſix days to conſider their mandate; for of infinite conſequence is my charge; and my counſellors now, alas! are few." She then withdrew; and the peers retired, penetrated with amazement, when they beheld ſuch youth and beauty attended with ſuch ſpirit and prudence. 1515

As ſoon as this grand ſcene had paſſed, Angus, apprehenſive leſt, by diſobeying an order of the regent in parliament, he might have forfeited his life and his lands, took notarial inſtruments, that he had deſired that the children ſhould be ſurrendered [5]. On the fifth day thereafter the queen ſignified her requeſt, that the king and his brother might be left in her charge, on condition that ſhe maintained them on her dowry; or, if this might not be granted, ſhe deſired that they might be committed to the cuſtody of Angus, Home, the Earl Marſhall, and Sir Robert Lawder of Baſs [6]. As ſhe juſtly expected that neither of theſe demands would win compliance, ſhe had, in the mean time, withdrawn with her children from the caſtle of Edinburgh, a city in which ſhe had no ſtrong influence, to that of Stirling her uſual reſidence, and a town which in courſe much favoured her cauſe. Albany ſecure of the ſupport of the parliament, now by favours and French gold wholly at his devotion by a decided majority, while, as uſual in Scotiſh parliaments, the minority did not attend, reſolved at all events to accompliſh this important deſign. He muſtered all the men of Edinburgh, capable of arms, and deſired them to be ready to follow him on the ſhorteſt notice: meantime he ſent the lords Borthwick and Ruthven, with their followers, to remain in the town of Stirling, and prevent any victuals from paſſing

[5] Ibid. [6] Ibid.

into

1515 into the caſtle[7]. The diſſolution of the parliament only increaſed his arbitrary proceedings againſt the queen's friends. Angus was now in the county whence his title was derived; and Archibald Douglas his uncle, who had wedded an opulent widow of Edinburgh, was at Douglas caſtle; but Sir George Douglas, brother of Angus, remaining at Edinburgh, Albany maliciouſly ordered Home, now provoſt of that city, to arreſt him; which that peer refuſed, as not being decreed by parliament, and ſaid that the office belonged rather to a herald than to him. Sir George however fled to the Merſe: and Home, the ſame night, retired, attended only by one ſervant, to a houſe of his near the borders called Newark. The indecent ſpleen of the regent prompted him even to command Angus, on his allegiance, to march his bands to Stirling, to blockade his own wife; an order, as being impoſſible to obey, worthy of the moſt wanton deſpotiſm, not to add the extreme of cruelty, the queen being now far advanced in her pregnancy by this her ſecond huſband. At the ſame time a proclamation was fulminated, declaring all thoſe who continued to retain the caſtle of Stirling againſt the regent and parliament, to be liable to the forfeiture of life and poſſeſſions. All theſe preparations were worthy of laughter, when it is conſidered that they were levelled againſt a ſolitary fortreſs, unfurniſhed with ammunition and proviſions; and againſt a defenceleſs woman, only armed with her ſpirit, and her tears: but they excited the malignity of the Engliſh faction, who pretended to gather uncommon conſequences from theſe uncommon means. Dacre even adviſes the Engliſh council of ſtate to interfere, for if James and his brother fell into Albany's hands they would certainly be murdered; and he remarks a dubiouſneſs in the late comprehen-

[7] Ibid.

ſion

ſion of peace, in which the Scotiſh king's name was omitted, 1515
ſo that, if Albany aſcended the throne, it could not be violated by England without a war with France

At length every preparation being made, the regent, attended by moſt of the Scotiſh peers, in order that they might warrant the meaſure by their preſence, and leading not leſs than ſeven thouſand men, marched to Stirling[9]. The proclamation had 4 Aug.
deterred and diſperſed the queen's few defenders; and the caſtle, inſtead of the din of arms, preſented ſilence and ſolitude. Margaret ſmiled in diſdain, when ſhe beheld the army and artillery of Albany; and gave to her ſon, the king, the keys of the fortreſs, which the infant, at her nod, put into the hands of the regent. She then condeſcended to requeſt Albany's favour to the king, and his brother, to herſelf, and to Angus; for herſelf and her ſons the anſwer was beneficent; but the duke declared that, regarding Angus and his family as traitors, he could ſhew them no indulgence. The queen was then forced to return to the caſtle of Edinburgh, where ſhe remained for a month, not without ſome appearance of captivity, being ſtrictly watched by ſpies placed around her. The regent garriſoned the caſtle of Stirling with ſeven hundred men; and gave the king and his brother, with the fortreſs, in charge to the Earl Marſhall, and the lords Fleming and Borthwick. About the ſame time Albany's ſervants pillaged Home's reſidence at Edinburgh; and the celebrated Patrick Panter the ſecretary was, on account of his attachment to that nobleman, arreſted, and his goods deſpoiled; he was then committed priſoner to Inch Garvey, a ſmall iſle oppoſite to Queen's ferry, where he was confined in a tower built by James IV, towards

[8] Ibid. [9] O. Dacre to the Council, 7 Aug. 1515, Cal. B. II, 301. O. "Wrongs done to the queen by Albany," March 1516, Cal. B. II, 173.

the

1515 the end of his reign, in order to protect his navy, and annoy any enemy [1].

Meanwhile Angus had retired into Tividale, to concert with Home what measures they should pursue. The regent resolved at once to terminate their schemes, and summoned a large array to meet him at Burrowmuir near Edinburgh before the end of August. Home, on his side, victualled Fastcastle; and Dacre availed himself of his neighbourhood, to instigate him more and more against Albany, but Angus he regarded as too young to be entrusted with a political conference [2]. Albany
14 Aug. having returned to Edinburgh, made an attempt to gain the queen and Angus, by offering them articles, importing that they should unite with his measures in the government, and desire no aid from other realms especially from England, without the special leave of the regent, and the three estates; while he, on his side, engaged to help and defend them in all their just and equitable actions, causes, and quarrels, and particularly to put the queen in full possession of her enfeoffment, or jointure-lands, of which, in the disorders of the times, she had been in a great degree bereaved; a loss which reduced her to a poverty to be esteemed great, when her station, and former means, were considered. The queen rejected the articles; but sent them to Dacre to shew what she sacrificed [3]. The regent was afterwards so ungenerous as to constrain her to write letters to the pope, and the French king, favouring his sentiments [4]; but, upon Margaret's advice to Dacre, Villebresme was intercepted with the letters in England [5]. To Home no terms were offered, except that he should leave Scotland with-

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

[3] C. proposed *indenture*, 14 Aug. 1515, Cal. B. VI, 83.

[4] O. Queen's credence to Robert Car, sent to Dacre, Sept. 1515, ib. 85.

[5] Q. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 7 Sept. 1515, ib. 80.

out

out any condition; and that nobleman ſtung with reſentment and deſpair wrote to Dacre, requeſting the aſſiſtance of an Engliſh force, informing him alſo that at no period was Scotland more open to the Engliſh power [6]. Dacre in courſe adviſed Henry to invade Scotland, in order to diſconcert the French party; at the ſame time reproaching Albany with want of faith, in breaking his promiſe to Dacre, that the younger prince ſhould be tranſmitted to Henry's care [7]. The ſame day Sir Anthony Ughtred, governor of Berwick, informs the archbiſhop of York, the ambitious Wolſey, that Faſtcaſtle, the chief fortreſs of Home, and defended by his brother, had by the weakneſs of the latter fallen into Albany's hands, by means of a woman and three or four other perſons: that the regent's brother, Alexander Stuart, had appeared in a military character at Coldingham, with a conſiderable force; while lord Fleming, with his bands, had juſt departed, after taking the caſtle of Home, and other places belonging to the regent's enemies [8]. But the chamberlain, a few days after, retook this caſtle by aſſault, and razed it to the ground: while William, his brother, captured the caſtle of Blacater, upon the river of that name, about five miles to the weſt of Berwick, the proprietor being well affected to Albany. Meanwhile the regent's army, to the amount of about forty thouſand men, aſſembled at Burrowmuir; but to ſhew his pacific intentions towards England, he ſent Sir William Scot, and Sir Robert Lawder, to meet Dacre and Dr. Magnus, a civilian of great talents, the Engliſh commiſſioners, in order to adjuſt any diſputes on the marches. Home, on his ſide, now ſupported by letters

1515
24 Aug.
25 Aug.
26 Aug.
29 Aug.

[6] O. Home to Dacre, 24 Aug. 1515, B. II, 151. "Gyff ever your maſter wald tak his tym of Scottland, now or never."

[7] O. Cal. B. II, 152. [8] O. Cal. B. II, 288.

1515 from Henry, gathered a great force; and threatened no leſs than the deſtruction, or baniſhment, of Albany [9].

The queen, diſguſted with her reſidence in the caſtle of Edinburgh, ſent Robert Car with letters of credence to Dacre, in which ſhe informs him that being conſtrained by Albany to write letters contrary to her ſentiments, and being kept in a kind of captivity, while her friends were in priſon and her revenues retained, ſo that ſhe ſuffered extreme poverty, ſhe was determined to eſcape from ſuch perſecution. That ſhe wiſhes to flee to the caſtle of Blacater, which Dacre had recommended as the ſureſt refuge, from its proximity to England, while at the ſame time ſhe could not be ſaid to have abdicated her rights by leaving Scotland: and that, to accompliſh this flight without ſuſpicion, or obſtruction, ſhe propoſes to retire firſt to Linlithgow, a town included in her dower, whence, on the firſt or ſecond night, ſhe will depart with her huſband, and four or five ſervants not in the ſecret. The chamberlain was to meet her within two or three miles of Linlithgow, with forty ſtout men, in order to convoy her to Blacater: if any obſtacle occurred on her part, he was to burn ſome town of Albany's eſtates, and thus pretending an excurſion, to depart till another night were appointed [1]. Margaret being now within ſix weeks of the iſſue of her pregnancy [2], was reſolved to continue no longer in the power of her enemies, and ſent her ring to her brother, as a pledge of fixed reſolution [3]. This ſcheme appears to have been executed; for, in the beginning of September, we find her at Blacater, where ſhe remained a
5 Sept. month before ſhe fled to England. No ſooner had ſhe with-

[9] O. William Franklin to the biſhop of Durham, Norham 29 Aug. 1515, Cal. B. III, 133. The minute tranſactions of Scot and Lawder appear, B. VI, 87—92.

[1] O. Credence, B. VI, 85. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

drawn,

drawn, than Albany, ſenſible of the groſs imprudence of his conduct to the ſiſter of the Engliſh king, empowered Johan de Planis, an envoy lately arrived from France to Scotland, to offer her certain condeſcenſions in his name; which were diſdainfully rejected [4]. Upon which his partizans threatening to beſiege the queen at Blacater, Dacre and Magnus wrote to requeſt Henry's directions concerning the reception of her, and her huſband, in England, if neceſſary; and in the mean time remitted to her a ſupply of one hundred marks, Engliſh money [5]. 1515 7 Sept.

The neglect of the French monarchs, Louis XII and Francis I, who, in contradiction of the terms of the alliance with Scotland, had concluded their pacifications with Henry, without the previous conſent of the Scotiſh government, had irritated the Scots; who accepted the comprehenſion in the treaties with ſuch neglect, and in ſo equivocal a manner, that it remained doubtful whether England and Scotland were in a ſtate of peace or war. At the ſame time the recent alliance between France and Scotland being underſtood to expire upon the death of the contracting monarchs, if not ratified anew, Du Planis had arrived to accompliſh this object, not without jealouſy on the part of England, againſt which that alliance had been directed. It was therefore an eager wiſh of Henry that an embaſſy ſhould be ſent from Scotland, formally to conclude a peace, or at leaſt a truce; and Albany, to prevent the obſtruction of his deſigns, now amuſed Dacre with the hope of that embaſſy. But the Engliſh warden, knowing the regent's art, continued nevertheleſs to hold many conferences with Home, and to promiſe him Henry's effectual ſupport [6]: nor in vain, for, though the queen warmly expoſtulates againſt

[4] O. Cal. B. VI, 126. [5] O. B. VI, 80.
[6] O. Dacre to Henry, 10 Sept. 1515, Cal. B. III, 20.

1515 her brother's delay, that he was ſincere appears from the order or permiſſion given to Sir Chriſtopher Dacre, to aſſiſt Home by making a ſtrong inroad into Scotland [7]. Yet the diſtance of the Engliſh court, and its averſion to enter into declared war againſt Scotland, and thereby enforce its connexion with France, conſpired with the great preparations and artifices of Albany, to leave the queen, Angus, and Home, open to every effort of his enmity.

The regent having collected a large hoſt, accompanied with
12 Sept. ſtrong artillery, advanced towards the borders for the deſtruction of Home, and of the queen's friends [8]. The firm reſiſtance expected from the chamberlain evaporated before the numerous array of Albany; whoſe toils and obſtacles conſiſted only in the difficulties and delays of marching through a wide territory. Home, after lingering a few days in the vain expectation of ſuccour, fled to England; a courſe which the
about 8 Oct. queen and Angus were alſo conſtrained to purſue. Dacre received them with diſtinction: and Angus and Home ſolemnly ſwore not to treat with Albany, except with the knowledge of Henry [9]. The regent, after ravaging and ſecuring the territories of the chamberlain, razing the tower of Blacater to the ground, and alarming Berwick, returned and diſmiſſed his army [1].

[7] O. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 18 Oct. 1515, B. VI, 110.

[8] Dacre in a letter to Wolſey, 12 Sept. 1515, Cal. B. II, 238, informs him that Albany, with the main power of Scotland, and Arran his lieutenant, (apparently already lieutenant general of the kingdom,) had ſet up their tents at Home caſtle; that he, Dacre, had held a conference with Albany, when Huntley, Argyle, Arran, and others aſſured him that they had no intention to invade England, and were even ready to grant obligations to that effect. Dacre eſtimates the Scotiſh army at upwards of 80,000: a number hardly credible, were not Albany's caprice capable of any abſurdity.

[9] O. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 18 Oct. B. VI, 110. [1] Ibid.

Home,

Home, in revenge, made many incurſions into Scotland; 1515
and Albany, exaſperated at this contempt of his authority and the ineffectual iſſue of his expedition, reſolved to employ every art to get that nobleman into his power. For this purpoſe he employed De Planis, the French embaſſador, to write to Home, aſſuring him of an amneſty, provided he would ceaſe to diſtreſs the country; and incloſing a pardon, formally ſigned by the regent, with ſome articles of importance, on which a conference was demanded. The chamberlain, unſuſpicious of fraud, and having no reaſon to extol the ſupport of England, conſented to meet Albany at Dunglaſs caſtle. On their arrival Home obſerved ſome ſuſpicious appearances, and warned his followers who fled to his brother in the marches; while he was himſelf ſeized, in contempt of good faith, and thrown into a vault, the door of which was ſecured with a chain. Next morning he was brought before the regent, who required him to exile himſelf to France or Italy for three years: a forced conſent was given: and the chamberlain, till his embarkation could be arranged, was conveyed to Edinburgh, and committed to the keeping of Arran, who had married his ſiſter[2].

A moſt unexpected ſcene now took place: Home not only contriving a ſpeedy eſcape, but perſuading his keeper to accompany him. By what arguments Arran was induced to this raſh ſtep is not to be diſcovered: perhaps he only wiſhed to ſave his relation, and his own ſafety forbade him to remain behind: perhaps he hoped to acquire the regency by the aſſiſtance of England. Certain it is that Home, after giving notice to his two brothers, whom he had ſent for as hoſtages, to flee to England, as he and Arran intended to eſcape from the caſtle of Edinburgh that night, effectuated his purpoſe with ſecrecy and ſecurity. The two peers, only attired

[2] O. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 18 Oct. B. VI, 110.

in

1515 in their doublets, travelled fourteen miles on foot, before they could procure horſes; and, on the next morning, arrived at the marches, and informed Dacre of the event. The day after Angus joined them at Wooler: and they all ſwore to maintain the queen's party. Home's brothers had alſo arrived; and Lennox, apparently ſomewhat perſuaded by Arran, was expected: but his acceſſion appears not. It was now reſolved to uſe every endeavour to annoy Scotland, and diſturb Albany's government; a meaſure hardly neceſſary as Dacre repreſents that country as a prey to conſtant robberies, fires, ſlaughters, ſo that the regent was already diſguſted with his ineffectual power [3].

10 Oct. Margaret, upon her arrival in England, ſent a letter to Albany informing him that apprehenſions for her life had conſtrained her to quit Scotland; but that ſhe perſiſted in her demand of the tutorage of her ſons, and the regency of Scotland, agreeably to the will of James IV, confirmed by the pope, as the pontiff had himſelf ſignified to Albany [4]. To 13 Oct. this bold epiſtle the council of Scotland anſwer, that the government of the realm could not be bequeathed by the late monarch, as it expired with his death, "and was devolved thereby to the three eſtates;" which, with one voice, and by the queen's conſent, had elected Albany; that her regency was moreover virtually loſt by her ſecond marriage; and that, as to the pontiff's interference, Scotland had, ever ſince its firſt inhabitation, been ſubject, in temporal matters, only to God [5]. The regent, on the ſame day, ſent two letters to the queen; one formal, beſeeching her to liſten to reaſon, and declaring the lenity of his intentions, and his averſion to rigorous meaſures: the

[3] Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 18 Oct. B. VI, 110.

[4] C. Cal. B. VI, 119.

[5] O. Council of Scotland, ſubſcribed "Gude, ſcriba ejuſdem," 13 Oct. 1515, B. VI, 120.

other,

other, wholly written with his own hand, offers Gawin Douglas a benefice of two or three thouſand franks; to the queen the free donation of all benefices within her lands of dowry, and of all marriages and wards in a portion of theſe lands; laſtly he promiſes to Margaret the guardianſhip of her ſons, if ſhe will engage not to withdraw them from the kingdom, or expoſe them to any harm[6]. The abbot of Dundrenan, the bearer, brought alſo a private credence[7]. But the queen's reply only inſiſts on Gawin Douglas's complete admiſſion to his biſhopric; and, with regard to the cuſtody of her children, ſhe expreſſes her wonder that the duke's letter ſhould ſo much differ from that of the council; and refers him to her brother to adjuſt the buſineſs[8]. The regent's offers were indeed too ſpecious to be honeſt; and his guile and duplicity were already not a little known. In the mean time Angus, Home, and Arran, had, on the fifteenth of October, ſigned a bond, in which they engage to deliver the king and his brother from ſuſpicious hands; to aſſiſt each other; and to make no agreement with Albany, except by the conſent of all, and their kindred, friends and partizans: it is remarkable that of England no mention is made, though Dacre was apparently preſent on the occaſion[9].

1515 17 Oct.

Margaret, eight days after her arrival, was delivered at Harbottle of a daughter[1], lady Margaret Douglas, afterwards by intermarriage with the earl of Lennox, to be the mother of king Henry Darnley, and the grandmother of James VI. The queen's indiſpoſition, increaſed by previous mortifications and anxieties, was of ſome duration; yet Albany ſent James Hay to perſuade her to return to Scotland, and Dacre em-

about 18 Oct.

about 15 Nov.

[6] Originals, Cal. B. VI, 122, 123.
[7] Copy, B. VI, 123. [8] Copy, ibid. [9] C. B. VI, 124.
[1] O. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 18 Oct. B. VI, 110.

braced

1515 braced the opportunity to renew his application to the regent, for the tranſmiſſion of the younger prince to England, which Hay informs Dacre had been favourably liſtened to, but apparently only in duplicity[2].

The regent meanwhile proceeded to revenge Arran's defection, by ſeizing his caſtles; but being met at that of Hamilton by the mother of the rebel earl, a venerable matron, the ſacred relique of a former age, being a daughter of James II, he received her with much reſpect, and promiſed a free pardon, if her ſon would return to his duty[3]. Arran feeling the little dependence to be placed in Dacre's promiſes, accordingly came to Edinburgh, and reſumed his allegiance to the regent[4]; this earl's character reſembling, in weakneſs and irreſolution, that of his ſon and ſucceſſor, the firſt regent during Mary's minority. The acceſſion of Arran contributed little to the tranquillity of the government, which Albany's raſh hand was ill adapted to wield. Daily commotions continued: the earls of Moray and Errol had, even in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, a conflict with Huntley, which the regent ruſhing from the palace with difficulty appeaſed[5]: the lion-king-at-arms, the chief of the Scotiſh heralds, was ſeized by Home on the borders, and impriſoned till Albany ſhould releaſe Home's mother, whom his mean revenge had impriſoned at Dunbar caſtle for ſix weeks, only becauſe ſhe had ſhewn attention to the queen[6]. The averſion to Albany's regency was further increaſed by the ſudden death

[2] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 19 Nov. 1515, Cal. B. II, 302. O. James Hay to Dacre, 21 Oct. B. II, 303.

[3] Leſl. 378, 379. [4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid. 379. Our author ſays that the earl of Moray was with Errol; but that peer, then extremely young, did not arrive in Scotland from his travels till 1519. O. Dacre to Wolſey, 19 Oct. 1519, Cal. B. III, 16. Perhaps Leſley errs many years, as not unuſual with our hiſtorians.

[6] Ibid. O. "Wrongs done to the queen by Albany," B. II, 173.

of

of the infant duke of Roſs, the king's only brother, a child of remarkable beauty and vivacity, who now reſigned his breath at Stirling caſtle[7]: the period was ſuſpicious, as a propoſal was in agitation for ſending this prince to England[8]; nor did the Engliſh faction, nor the queen herſelf, heſitate to impute infant blood to Albany; and Gawin Douglas, in his remarkable memorial of January 1522[9], among other ſevere charges againſt Albany, afterwards to be related, uſes the following terms, "and worſt of all, alas! it is openly ſpoken, and repeated, that the duke of Roſs, the king's brother, died from the want of things neceſſary for ſuch a prince, or elſe was poiſoned." Yet candor will not liſten to an enemy, on a charge of ſuch atrocity; and will barely admit that the abſence of a mother's care may have cauſed the infant to pine away, or occaſioned a culpable neglect in the attendants. 1515 18 Dec.

This eventful year was concluded by a renovation of the alliance with France, on the ſame terms with that ratified by James IV[1]. But a pacification with England could not be procured from the preſent diſpoſitions of Scotland, which regarded her incluſion in the French treaty as rather formal than eſſential. The conqueſts of Francis I in Italy had alſo excited the jealouſy of Henry: and the peace between England and France ſtood in a moſt uncertain predicament. The policy of Henry eagerly deſired a laſting peace with Scotland, that he might not only be at liberty to direct his ambitious arms to the continent, but that he might at the ſame time have an

[7] Leſl. 379. The queen in her "Wrongs," dated March [1516], poſitively charges Albany with the death of this royal infant.

[8] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 19 Nov. B. II, 302. [9] Cal. B. III, 309.

[1] This appears to have been the chief object of the embaſſy of De Planis. See Epiſt. R. S. I, 256. The treaty was ratified by Albany, 2 Jan. 1516. Leagues F. and S. MS. Harl. 1244.

1515 open field to ſecure the internal arrangement of Scotland, by intrigues, which war would only have obſtructed: the French faction, on the contrary, deſired ſhort and ambiguous truces, that if Henry ſhould declare againſt France the uſual Scotiſh aid might be interpoſed.

1516 Jan. Yet at a meeting of the Scotiſh commiſſioners, Gawin Dunbar archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Sir William Scott, accompanied by De Planis the French embaſſador, and of Dacre and Magnus on the part of England, held at Coldingham, it was agreed that the truce ſhould continue, notwithſtanding ſome border infractions; and that the regent ſhould ſend a ſolemn embaſſy to England, an object long and warmly inſiſted on by Henry[2]. In conſequence Albany deſired the Engliſh king to remit a ſafe conduct for the biſhops of Galloway, Dumblane, and Caithneſs, and the earls of Morton, Eglinton, and Caſſils, the deſtined embaſſadors[3]. This ſafe conduct was cheerfully granted[4]: but the embaſſy did not proceed till the month of April[5].

27 Jan.

Albany's inauſpicious regency continued to ſuffer conſtant diſtraction. Arran, who ſtill aſpired to the government, again revolted, and being joined by Lennox and Glencairn, they provided Dunbarton caſtle againſt a ſiege, and captured that of Glaſgow, which was well ſtored with ammunition: but, by the mediation of the chancellor, the affair was compromiſed[6]. The regent, in order to attach the nobles, the French

[2] The inſtrument does not appear in Rymer, but the meeting is mentioned by Leſley, 379, and alluded to in Rymer, XIII, 566, and in Albany's letter.

[3] O. Albany, in the name of James, to Henry, 27 Jan. 1516. Cal. B. VI, 102.

[4] Rymer, XIII, 531. Dr. Granger, followed blindly by Guthrie as uſual, ſpeaks of Sir David Lindſay as one of the embaſſadors; but the original bears David Lyndſay of Byres, a far ſuperior deſignation to that of the poet, who is always ſtyled of the Mont, a ſmall eſtate in Fife.

[5] O. Dacre to Henry, 12 April 1516, B. III, 31.

[6] Leſl. 380.

ſupplies

ſupplies now failing, forced Forman to abandon ſome of his 1516
multitudinous benefices, and conferred them on friends of
Arran, Huntley, Bothwell, with a penſion to Moray[7]. Lord
Drummond, the biſhop of Dunkeld, and Panter, were ſet at
liberty[8]; and Albany having found by experience that a ſe-
verity bordering on tyranny was little adapted to the country,
and times, ſuddenly paſſed, as is uſual with the unſkilful, from
one extreme to another. His neceſſity, or inſatiate avarice and
profuſe diſſipation, had not only ſeized the queen's jewels and
jointure, but had deſpoiled the royal palaces, and ſold offices
of emolument and truſt[9]; yet the ſlender attachment of the
nobles, which ſubſiſted chiefly by their ſharing the ſpoils, was
moſt precarious: and Albany, far from aſpiring to the ſceptre,
deeply repented that he had impreſſed a footſtep on the Scotiſh
ſoil. His meaſures were completely foiled; and henceforward
his ſtruggle againſt Henry's influence was weak, fruitleſs, and
ineffectual.

Angus and Home, finding themſelves neglected by the Engliſh king, and deprived by the concluſion of a treaty of any open aid from England, reſolved, without the queen's know-

[7] Leſl. 381. But it is ſuſpected that this donation rather took place in the parliament of November this year.

[8] Ibid. 382. Yet not till after 15 March 1516, as appears from O. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, Cal. B. VI, 99, whence it is alſo to be learned that Albany then offered their freedom, on condition that Margaret ſhould not proceed further into England to meet her brother. In Cal. B. VI, 97, there is a letter from Alexander Turnbull to Angus, Rome 4 Nov. 1515, mentioning that a brief had been procured from the pope for the liberation of Dunkeld; but as the queen and Angus were in England, it was doubtful to whoſe charge it ſhould be ſent.

Lord Drummond was not delivered from his forfeiture till the 22d of Nov. 1516. Scotſt. Cal.

[9] Memorial by Dunkeld, Jan. 1522. Cal. B. III, 309.

1516 ledge, to accommodate their affairs with Albany; who now affected great lenity, and aſſented to admit them to their former honours and poſſeſſions. They accordingly returned to Scotland, and reſided in a quiet manner on their eſtates [1]. The queen, now confined by a long illneſs at Morpeth, never pardoned, and never could pardon, this ſhocking and diſgraceful defection of her huſband, the inhumanity of which was, if poſſible, increaſed by her ſituation on a bed of ſickneſs at the time; and this was the real cauſe of that laſting enmity which our hiſtorians, ignorant of this circumſtance, impute to an amour of Angus. Margaret's determination of proceeding to her brother's court, inſtead of returning to Scotland, was a ſtrong motive to this ſtep; as Angus and Home regarded her reſolution as a dereliction of any claim to the Scotiſh government, and, in mere prudence, could not be much blamed for not ſacrificing all their fortunes to a cauſe confeſſed to be deſperate. The queen afterwards went to the Engliſh court [2]; where ſhe was received with the diſtinction, reſpect, and tenderneſs, due to her talents, her ſtation, and her misfortunes: nor was it an uſual ſpectacle to behold her, and her ſiſter Mary the widow of Louis XII, embracing each other, after an equal fatality.

beg. Apr.

The Scotiſh embaſſadors, with De Planis the French envoy, proceeded to London; where, after long deliberation, a truce was concluded, to laſt till midſummer one thouſand five hundred and ſeventeen [3]. Yet Henry, not ſatisfied with attaining

1 June

[1] O. Dacre to Henry, 12 April 1516, B. III, 31.

[2] Ibid. See Lodge's Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory, I, 20: ſhe proceeded from York to Newbury about the 24th May, ib. 22.

[3] Rymer, XIII, 549, and ſee 574. Epiſt. R. S. I, 261. The commencement was computed from St. Andrew's day 1516, to which time the former truce extended. Redpath, 502, miſunderſtands the paſſages: but to obſerve the numerous errors of former writers in theſe notes would be infinite.

this

this purpoſe, and knowing that France would find ſufficient exerciſe for her arms in Italy againſt the emperor Maximilian, determined with a high hand to eject Albany from his regency. Sounding the Scotiſh embaſſadors to this effect, who repreſented their want of power to negotiate on the ſubject, the impatient monarch, on the day on which the truce was ſigned, directed a letter, to be preſented to the three eſtates of Scotland; inſiſting upon the diſmiſſion of Albany, who, from his propinquity of blood, and next claim to the crown, was the moſt ſuſpicious guardian that could have been appointed to the infant James [4]. The eſtates having met in parliament, this mandate was preſented; and, as was to have been expected, excited the reſentment even of thoſe who wiſhed well to the Engliſh intereſt. In their anſwer, to which among numerous names and ſeals, we find thoſe of Home, Lennox, and Drummond, the eſtates firmly repreſent that they had nominated Albany to his office, and would ſupport him; and that their king was in no danger, having long ſince, by their order, been placed in the hands of choſen peers [5]. Yet Albany, conſcious of the inſecure foundation on which his regency ſtood, now entered into a ſecret negotiation with Wolſey; and agreed that the infant king ſhould be regarded as ſolely under the ſafeguard of the three eſtates, that he would conſent to a perpetual peace, and would viſit the Engliſh court himſelf, to confer with Henry [6]. The parliament, ignorant of this duplicity, was apparently unanimous in ſupport of the regent; but this unanimity was more owing to the nature and conſtitution of a Scotiſh parliament, in which, as is evinced from all our re-

1516

1 July

4 July

24 July

[4] Rymer, XIII, 550, from the anſwer of the Scotiſh parliament.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ib. 574, where Henry's confirmation of the articles agreed on by Albany and Wolſey 24 July, is given, and dated 31 Dec. 1516.

cords,

1516 cords, an oppoſition to the government was unknown, and might perhaps have been conſtrued rebellion, than to any real attachment to Albany. What would have been their ſentiments, had they known that the regent had alſo ſecretly aſſented to leave Scotland, and to paſs by the Engliſh court in his route to France[7]? Meanwhile he had ſent La Fayette to the French king[8], to notify the neceſſity of his affairs; and to requeſt aid in ſupport of his regency, to which he had been delegated as it were by Francis; or if this were impoſſible, to obtain a permiſſion to return to France, to which his wife and opulent eſtates firmly attached him. At the ſame time Henry diſpatched Thomas Benolt the Clarenceux herald, a man of ability, and who frequently afterwards appeared in Scotland as the agent of England[9], to remain as a ſpy on Albany's conduct;

[7] C. Inſtructions to Clarenceux going to Scotland, [Auguſt, 1516,] Cal. B. VI, 188. O. Clarenceux in Scotland to Wolſey, 9 Aug. 1516. Cal. B. II, 290.

[8] Letter of Clarenceux juſt quoted: and another, Falkland, 29 Aug. B. III, 260.

[9] Thomas Benolt was appointed Clarenceux, Nov. 20th. 2 H. VIII, 1510, having previouſly been Rouge Croix purſuivant, Lancaſter herald, and Norroy king of arms. His will is dated 24 April 1534, and proved 16th May. He was buried in St. Helen's church Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, where it is believed his monument remains, with a legible inſcription. In the books of partition of fees, Heralds College London, amid the diviſion of 10*l.* among the officers at arms, for attendance at court on St. George's day 1534, are the following entries.

"Mr. Clarenceux, Thomas Benolt, abſent, ſeke; and dyed the 8th daie of Maie next enſuinge, on whoſe ſoule God have mercie."

"Mr. Clarenceux, Thomas Tonge, created at Guyldeforde in the Fryers churche, the ſeconde daie of Auguſte, 1534."

In 1537 Tonge was ſucceeded by Thomas Hawley: William Harvey followed in 1557: Robert Cooke in 1566: and Richard Lee in 1593. On whoſe death in 1597, Camden, who had been for that purpoſe appointed a herald juſt before, to the great diſſatisfaction of the college was promoted to the rank of Clarenceux.

For

conduct; but on pretext, it appears, of awaiting the conſent of France to the truce, before he preſented Henry's ratification. Yet Dacre intermitted not every endeavour to diſturb Albany's government; and he even boaſts in a letter to Wolſey, that he had no leſs than four hundred Scots in his pay, whoſe only employment was to excite tumults, to burn, and to deſtroy [1]. The party of Home and Angus ſtill maintained their union, and contributed not a little to diſtract the country [2]. 1516 23 Aug.

The parliament, which had been prorogued to the ſecond of September, was poſtponed till the fifteenth, as De la Fayette's arrival was unexpectedly dilatory [3]; but on the latter day it apparently met [4], as Home, by all accounts, was ſoon after tried in the national council. That nobleman, inſtead of continuing on his own domains, as he had already been taught to diſtruſt the regent's guile, was ſo imprudent as, upon ſome unknown ſpecious ſuggeſtion, to viſit the court, with his brother William, and Sir Andrew Ker of Ferniherſt. They were immediately ſeized, and lodged in different priſons; and being tried in parliament were found guilty. The new crimes alledged againſt Home are unknown [5]; and, if he had not been Sept.

For this minute and authentic information the author is indebted to his ingenious friend Edmund Lodge, Eſq. Lancaſter Herald, and editor of that intereſting work, "Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory."

It may be added that Benolt was Berwick purſuivant, temp. E. IV: that he wrote a viſitation of Kent: and was ſent by H. VIII to defy Francis I, and afterwards Charles V, which he did with great grace and ſpirit. Weever Fun. Mon. 679, 335, 672.

[1] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 23 Aug. Cal. B. I, 150.

[2] O. Clarenceux to Henry, 29 Aug. B. III, 260. [3] Ibid.

[4] Buchanan, XIV, 7, ſays it met 24 Sept.

[5] Redpath, 505, enumerates the *ſuppoſed* charges. The chief are, 1. Home's aſſaſſination of James IV after the battle of Flodden; 2. Some groſs unknown crime,

1516 been pardoned for former tranſgreſſions, he could not have ſitten in the parliament of July [6]. But as Dacre, by his own confeſſion, was daily ravaging Scotland by hired bands, probably of Home's followers; and the chamberlain's connexion with Dacre was known; it was not unreaſonable to impute thoſe ſhocking diſorders to Home's connivance, if not inſtigation: and the regent cannot be highly blamed for making this great example of a nobleman, who had thus abuſed his mercy, in order to deter others from a crime deſtructive of all government and property. In conſequence of their ſentences, Home was beheaded on the eighth of October [7], and his head placed on the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and his brother met with the
Oct. ſame fate on the following day. Soon after the parliament was again prorogued till the beginning of November; the French court then at Lyon [8], and occupied with many important affairs, and perplexed with difficulties, not being yet able to decide on the part to be taken with regard to Scotland: in the mean time Albany marched to Jedburgh with a choſen band of ſoldiers, in order to repreſs the diſorders on the marches [9].

crime, (perhaps the ſame,) imputed by Albany to Home, and over which it was neceſſary to draw a veil. The firſt is from Buchanan, who, to confirm his fable, adds that Moray the natural ſon of James IV, appeared in evidence; but that peer was only aged twenty in 1519. O. Dacre to Wolſey, B. III, 16, and was apparently now on his travels, for after a long abſence he returned to Scotland in 1519, ib. Perhaps James Hepburn, *biſhop of Moray*, may be meant. The ſecond charge is from Drummond, and is improbable in itſelf, as Albany lately arrived in Scotland, could only know what was known to others, and as regent could hardly be admitted as an accuſer.

[6] On the 9th June, 1516, Albany gave Dunglaſs caſtle to Home. Scotſt. Cal.

[7] Leſl. 383. Buchanan, XIV, 7, ſays the 11th of October, and is followed by Crawford, Officers, 324.

[8] Epiſt. Reg. Scot. I, 244. [9] Leſl. 383.

At

At length Francis de Bordeaux arrived as embaſſador from France; and the parliament again met. His inſtructions having previouſly been ſhewn to the regent and privy council, ſome articles were now extracted and laid before the three eſtates; who were ſurprized to find almoſt every demand, which they had deſired their embaſſador the biſhop of Roſs to make, completely rejected. Francis I, their great and good ally, refuſed to yield the county of Xaintonge, which had been aſſigned by Charles VII to James I, in November 1428, as before mentioned, on pretext that it was an inalienable portion of the royal domain; he refuſed any aid to Scotland, and adviſed peace with England on any terms; he refuſed even to ratify the alliance between France and Scotland, renewed and ſworn by De Planis, and the Scotiſh council of regency, within a year and a day after the death of James IV [1]. At the ſame time it appears that La Fayette, the meſſenger of Albany, arrived with private advice to him to leave Scotland, as the preſent politics of France prevented his being ſupported in that country. The regent's affairs being now deſperate, he reſolved to avail himſelf of his preſent remnant of power, and prevailed on the parliament to ſet aſide his elder brother Alexander Stuart, and to declare himſelf the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, and undoubted heir to the throne in caſe of the death of his nephew [2]. Nor could his ambition probably have ever

1516 3 Nov.

[1] Epiſt. R. S. I, 243—248; and the anſwer of the Scotiſh parliament, ibid. 249—257.

[2] Leſl. 383. From Scotſtarvet's Calendars of Charters it appears that, on the 13th Nov. 1516, a ratification paſſed in parliament of a divorce pronounced by the Official of Lothian, between the deceaſed Alexander duke of Albany, and dame Catherine Sinclair daughter of the earl of *Caithneſs*, (the latter deſignation of her father, formerly Orkney,) becauſe of conſanguinity: and declaring the regent only lawful ſon of the late Albany by Agnes of Boulogne, in courſe

1516 ever aſpired further; for, without the aid of France, he could not have aſcended the Scotiſh throne; and the generous nature of Francis I would have abhorred ſuch an enterprize.

Some days having elapſed after this important object had been adjuſted, the regent in a full parliament, at that time held in the tolbooth or guildhall of Edinburgh, aroſe, and, with a countenance betraying an agony of perplexity and confuſion, requeſted the permiſſion of the three eſtates to viſit France; ſolely, as he pretended, with an intention to conſult the French king, and to conſole his own wife now in a bad ſtate of health[2]. Great clamours followed this unexpected demand; and it was at firſt declared in their reſentment that if he muſt fail to France, whatever might be the pretext, or real cauſe, he ſhould never again be admitted into Scotland; and that if he went the eſtates would abandon the French alliance, from which only fatal or diſgraceful conſequences flowed, and would form a conjunction with England, which would not only deliver them from conſtant anxiety and apprehenſion, but would redound to the eternal profit of the realm: they concluded with requiring him to maintain his high ſtation till the king ſhould have attained the age of eighteen, agreeably to their determination of the preceding year. But Albany aſſuring them that England would yet further prolong the truce, if he were permitted to depart; and diſplaying a prodigality of promiſes; the ſtates relented, and gave a reluctant permiſſion[3].

ſecond perſon in the kingdom, and capable of ſucceeding to the crown; from which claim Alexander commendator of Inchaffray the ſon of the former marriage, is formally ſet aſide.

[2] To acute obſervers the abſence of Albany's wife might have always declared, that he did not intend a fixed reſidence in Scotland.

[3] Theſe particulars are derived from an important letter of Benolt, the Clarenceux, to Wolſey, dated, on his return, at Alnwick 30 Nov. 1516, Cal. B. VI, 138.

The

The period aſſigned by Albany for his departure was probably the approaching ſpring, as navigation was then very unuſual in winter. He accordingly remained in Scotland till June, in a tantalizing and unhappy ſituation. Though he had promiſed to Wolſey that he would paſs by the Engliſh court, he now began to frame excuſes, ſenſible that the ſtep could procure him no advantage, but would excite the jealouſy both of the Scots and French: he alledged that the eſtates would not conſent, and inſiſted upon great hoſtages to be tranſmitted to France, and to Scotland [4]. To Clarenceux however he ſwore, by the reliques contained in a tablet hanging from his neck, that he earneſtly deſired to viſit England and Henry; and added the imprecation that, if he ſpoke not truth, he abjured his part of paradiſe, and devoted his ſoul and body to the infernal dæmons. To his familiar friends his diſappointment and anguiſh whiſpered his earneſt wiſh, that, to uſe his own impetuous language, he had broken both his legs and arms, the firſt footſtep he moved on his journey to proceed to Scotland [5]. Amid the regent's perplexities and diſguſts Clarenceux returned to England for freſh inſtructions; and, now that the intentions of France were found to be pacific, to obtain Henry's ſolemn ratification of the treaty with Scotland, which had for ſix months been artfully delayed. 1516 about 25 Nov.

The earl of Lennox was now impriſoned till he ſhould ſurrender the caſtle of Dunbarton, as a key of the kingdom to Albany; and, upon the earl's compliance, Allan Stuart was ſent to receive the fortreſs [6]. The appointment of D'Arcy 1 Dec.

[4] Ibid. Even in converſation with Clarenceux Albany ſtyled the king of France his maſter, B. III, 260. The herald had been inſtructed to offer the earl of Northumberland as an hoſtage in Scotland, or *Surrey* the Admiral at Boulogne. B. VI, 188.

[5] O. Clarenceux to Wolſey, 30 Nov. 1516, B. VI, 138. [6] Leſl. 384.

1516 de la Baſtie, though a deſerving favourite, to the wardenſhip of the marches, vacant upon Home's death, rather irritated a nation little accuſtomed to behold foreigners in ſuch importan offices [6].

1517 Jan. Clarenceux having returned with the proper ratifications, and with freſh inſtructions from Wolſey and Dacre, the parliament again met, and ſanctioned the truce [7], now extended to the thirtieth of November this year, in conſequence of Albany's confirmation of his articles entered into with Wolſey in the preceding July, and of his projected departure in compliance with the wiſhes of England. Yet it appears that the Engliſh herald ſtill delayed to preſent the proper ratification of the truce, as being inſtructed to uſe every precaution againſt the regent's art and duplicity. To ſtrengthen his influence Albany now conferred the office of chamberlain, the ſecond in the kingdom, upon lord Fleming [8]; a peer warmly attached to him, but of a profligate and ſanguinary character [9]. Though the chief ſecret article, upon which England had conſented to prolong the truce of July, was that Albany ſhould quit Scotland, his anxiety was great leſt this degrading article ſhould be known to the parliament and nation [1]: but the queen's return to Scotland was openly mentioned, and aſſented to, though ſome of her terms were reſerved for the conſideration of the next parliament [2]. The regent diſpatched De la Fayette, his envoy, to the Engliſh court, with inſtructions to requeſt of Wolſey that, in publiſhing the truce, no mention ſhould be made of the ſecret article concerning his departure, but that he ſhould be invited in gentle terms to viſit England [3].

[6] Ibid. [7] Rymer, XIII, 581. [8] Leſl. 384. Crawf. Off. 325.
[9] O. Margaret to Surrey, 24 Nov. 1523. B. I, 279.
[1] O. Clarenceux to Dacre, 7 Jan. 1517, B. VI, 184. [2] Ibid.
[3] Credence from Albany to La Fayette, ſent to Wolſey, B. VI, 136.

but

Clarenceux, who accompanied the envoy, was taught to believe that La Fayette was ordered to paſs from England to France, whence he was to bring twelve gentlemen to accompany Albany with due ſplendor in his journey through England; an intention which he repeated with many oaths and imprecations [4]. Yet about this time he ſent a letter to the Daniſh king, accuſing Henry of delay in the ratification, and requeſting information if Denmark could aſſiſt Scotland, her ally, with ſome forces by the month of June [5]: this meaſure he ſeems to have adopted as the laſt reſource to ſupport his regency, France having refuſed her concurrence. He at the ſame time wrote to Henry and Wolſey, requiring that the original deed of truce ſhould be ſent ratified, a cauſe, or a pretext, of further delay. As a mode perhaps of baniſhment, during tranſactions mortifying to the regent, if inſpected by ſkilfull eyes, Gawin Douglas now acknowledged biſhop of Dunkeld, and Patrick Panter ſecretary to the king, were ſent on an embaſſy to France in order to aſſiſt the biſhop of Roſs, the former embaſſador there, in adjuſting a laſting alliance [6]. To cover the diſgrace of his retreat, and to maintain ſome ſhadow of power abroad, Albany obtained from the three eſtates, now apparently again aſſembled, letters of credence authorizing him, as eſtabliſhed regent, to tranſact the eccleſiaſtic affairs of Scotland with the pope, and the temporal with the French monarch, the emperor, and the catholic king; and particularly the renewal of the treaty with France, in

1517

1 March

[4] O. Clarenceux to Dacre, B. VI, 184. [5] Epiſt. R. S. I, 259.

[6] Leſl. 385, but he errs in mentioning Glencairn as one of the embaſſadors, that nobleman having been declared a rebel by Albany, Cal. B. VI, 188: and a letter of the embaſſadors, ib. 174, is only ſigned by Dunkeld, Roſs, and Panter.

which

1517 which view he was even empowered to conduct the marriage of the infant monarch with a ſuitable bride of that kingdom [7].

6 April A formal ſafe conduct having at length been iſſued by the regent and parliament, for the reception of Margaret in Scotland, with a full power to her to levy all her former revenues, ariſing from her endowed territories, and to reſume poſſeſſion of all her jewels and other effects, provided that ſhe attempted nothing againſt Albany's authority [8], that princeſs prepared for her departure from England; which was however delayed, till Albany, whom the ſtates, probably at his own ſuggeſtion, forbad to viſit Henry [9], ſhould have ſailed for France. Among the ſecret articles it appears to have been ſtipulated that Albany's nominal power ſhould remain; that a council of regency blended of both parties ſhould be choſen; and that neither France nor England ſhould interfere in the government or internal affairs of Scotland. Accordingly for four years, till the ſecond arrival of Albany, few traces are to be found of any French or Engliſh influence having been uſed; though the two inteſtine parties of Albany, and the queen,

May retained their diſſentions. The council of regency, which was unexpectedly to hold its power for four years, conſiſted of the archbiſhops of St. Andrew's and Glaſgow, dignities at that time ſupported by Andrew Forman and James Beton, the latter alſo chancellor, and from that office chief of the council;

[7] Epiſt. R. S. I, 257. It is remarkable that Albany is ſtyled "his majeſty," *majeſtati ſuæ*, p. 258, a form unknown even to the kings of England till about 1530; "your grace" being the common phraſe in all the original letters till that time.

[8] Epiſt. R. S. I, 265: and Cal. B. VI, 107.

[9] C. Inſtructions Albany to ſome envoy to England, B. III, 139. The regent even pretends that he took a notarial inſtrument of the refuſal of the ſtates.

and

and the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Angus, and Arran [1], of whom there is reaſon to believe that three were devoted to the queen and the Engliſh intereſt. The king was brought from the caſtle of Stirling to that of Edinburgh, and committed to the care of the earl Marſhall, the lords Erſkine, Borthwick, and Ruthven; and the conſtant attendance of at leaſt two of them was enjoined [2]. Albany, who may be regarded as a Frenchman by birth, allegiance, and inclinations, left to De la Baſtie, the warden of the marches, a kind of confidence and delegation which occaſioned his being regarded as a deputy [3], and was the cauſe of great envy, and a rapid fate: at the ſame time the fortreſſes of Dunbar and Dunbarton, the eaſtern and weſtern keys of the kingdom, and the tower of Inchgarvy, uſeful in protecting a navy, were garriſoned with French ſoldiers, at a quadruple expence to the ſtate [4]. Yet, with theſe inconveniences, the ſuperior tranquillity of a few ſucceeding years was to proclaim the advantages which Scotland derived from the abſence of the regent. 1517

Having given out that he would return in five months; and having not only taken ſecurity for the fidelity of the peers, but procured many of their heirs to be ſent with him as hoſtages [5]; Albany at length ſailed from Dunbarton on the eighth [6], and arrived at Montmichel in France about the twenty ſeventh of June [7]. 8 June

[1] Leſley, 385, confirmed in all the names by O. Magnus to Wolſey, 16 June 1517, B. II, 212. [2] Leſl. 385.

[3] Dunkeld, in his memorial of Jan. 1522, formally ſtyles De la Baſtie the "Depute" of Albany, B. III, 309. Lindſay, 199, even calls him Regent. Leſley, 385, is more accurate. [4] Dunkeld's memorial, ib.

[5] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 16 June 1517. B. II, 212.

[6] Ibid. Leſley 385, ſays the 7th.

[7] O. Dunkeld, Roſs, and Panter, to Wolſey, Abbeville 27th June 1517. B. VI, 174. O. Albany to Wolſey, Montmichel 28 June, ib. 175.

The

1517 The queen yet hesitated in the north of England; and even shewed some disinclination to exchange the opulence of that country for the penury of Scotland [8]; though she feared not the Scotish peers, awed by her brother's power, she desired from them an assurance that they would not demand from her a sum of eighteen thousand crowns, which the affection of James IV had given her, before he went to the campaign of
15 June his death, without the knowledge of his privy council [9]. Any difficulties being readily adjusted, Margaret entered Scotland a week after Albany had sailed; and was met at Lamberton kirk, a spot which must have excited a sigh, when she reflected that this was the scene of her first reception as the bride of James IV, by the earls of Angus, Morton, and other peers, and by De la Bastie [1]. Yet she was not permitted to visit her son, except for the short space that he was withdrawn to Craigmillar, a pestilence having appeared at Edinburgh [2]. Though her affections were estranged from Angus her husband, yet her prudence stifled her resentment; and she even endeavoured to procure him the regency, without success, for she was probably a stranger to the secret articles between Henry
July and Albany. The bishop of Dunkeld now arrived from France by the way of England [3], and added his knowledge and abilities to a warm zeal for her party. But Margaret was the slave of her own will; and paying little attention to her brother's advice, she was in return not eagerly supported by his influence.

[8] O. Magnus to Wolsey, B. II, 212. Before, says Magnus, she had "esteemed Scotland egall with England." She was very young when she wedded James IV.

[9] O. Margaret to Henry, York 3 June 1517. B. II, 230.

[1] O. Magnus to Wolsey, B. II, 212. [2] Lesl. 385.

[3] He, Ross, and Panter, apply to Wolsey for a safe conduct by the above quoted letter of 27th June.

Upon

Upon his return to France, Albany ſpared no endeavour to complete the deſign of the embaſſadors, the biſhops of Roſs and Dunkeld, and ſecretary Panter, in eſtabliſhing a laſting alliance between Scotland and that country: nor was his interceſſion unſucceſsful, for the memorable treaty of Rouen, the baſis of the ſubſequent connections between thoſe kingdoms, was now adjuſted by the regent, as empowered by the Scotiſh parliament on the one part, and the duke of Alençon, brother-in-law of Francis, on the other [4]. It is agreed that, when England ſhall make war on either power, France is to pay to Scotland one hundred thouſand crowns of the ſun; and to furniſh fifteen hundred lanſquenets, five hundred infantry, and two hundred archers, the expence of which force, when landed in Scotland, is to be defrayed by the Scots. If either be invaded, the other is to attack England [5]. If France be aſſailed, Scotland is to ſend ſix thouſand troops. Either may accept a truce, on leaving to the other, the privilege of acceding at its free option. A marriage is to take place between James and a daughter of Francis, when both are of age: and Albany engages to procure the ratification of this treaty by the Scotiſh parliament, within two months after his return to Scotland. 1517 20 Aug.

But the regent's power in that kingdom met with an unexpected check, for Sir Antony D'Arcy de la Baſtie, called his deputy, a knight of eminent talents and fame, often commemorated in this and the preceding book, was now to encounter a cruel fate. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by repreſſing diſorders

[4] MS. Leagues F. and S. Harl. 1244. Among Albany's titles are Conte de Gareoch, Boulogne et Auvergne; Seigneur de la Tour, Douzennas, Bauſſac, Cauraiſe, &c.

[5] But France is only to invade the Engliſh poſſeſſions, "deça la mer;" that is to reconquer for herſelf Calais, or Tournay. Gallica Fides!

1517 within the bounds of Lothian and the Merſe, over which countries his command of the caſtle of Dunbar conſpired with his office of warden to give him great authority: and his ſevere juſtice in impriſoning Stirling of Keir, for an attempt to aſſaſſinate Meldrum of Bins near Edinburgh, is celebrated by a contemporary writer [6]. His office of warden was ſingularly invidious to the Homes, accuſtomed to ſee the head of their houſe in that important ſtation, and irritated by the execution of lord Home in the preceding year. Home of Wedderburn, a chief of the family, reſolved to revenge the offences of Albany on his reputed delegate; and deſpairing of open force laid an ambuſcade to ſurprize the warden, then on a progreſs of juſtice near Langton. De la Baſtie, truſting to the ſpeed of his horſe, fled towards Dunbar caſtle, but was entangled in
19 Sept. a marſh, and ſlain. Home, in the triumph of barbaric revenge, faſtened the head of his victim by its long and adorned hair to his ſaddle-bow; and regained his manſion, breathing contempt againſt the regency and the laws [7].

The lords of the council learning this atrocious event appointed Arran warden of the marches [8], to the great offence of Angus, which was increaſed by Arran's impriſoning Sir George Douglas that peer's brother, and Mark Ker, becauſe they were ſuſpected of favouring the deſign againſt De la Baſtie [9]. The puniſhment of the perpetrators was deferred till a parliament ſhould meet early in the enſuing year [1].

[6] Sir David Lindſay Hiſt. of Squire Meldrum, Scotiſh Poems reprinted from ſcarce editions, London 1792, 3 vols. 8vo, Vol. I, p. 197, 198.

[7] Leſl. 387. Buch. XIV, 10. Lindſay, 201. Dacre in a letter to Margaret, [Sept. 1517,] imputes this affair to a ſudden paſſion of Wedderburn.

[8] Leſl. 388. But Arran appears to have been lieutenant general of the kingdom: and Lennox his relation warden, for in a letter of Albany of uncertain date the latter is ſtyled warden. B. VI, 150.

[9] Leſl. ib. [1] Ibid.

Albany

Albany had been ſo diſguſted with his regency that he now 1517
wrote to Margaret, deſiring her to aſſume the government if the peers aſſented, the five months aſſigned by him for his return being nearly expired. The queen accordingly informed Dacre of his intentions; and requeſted that Angus her huſband might be ſupported in his claim of the regency [2]. Dacre adviſed her to ſound the lords without whoſe aſſent the aid of England would be vain [3]: but ſhe found them all united with Arran in oppoſition to Angus, whoſe youth and levity they deſpiſed, while they dreaded his power. The recent prolongation of the truce with England, from St. Andrew's day this year to the ſame term in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen [4], alſo oppoſed the open introduction of Engliſh influence or force.

A parliament having aſſembled at Edinburgh, the forfeiture 1518
againſt thoſe concerned in the aſſaſſination of De la Baſtie 19 Feb.
formed the chief object of deliberation; and David Home of Wedderburn, his three brothers, and other perpetrators of that deed, were condemned. Arran with ſome bands of ſoldiers, and a few artillery, proceeded to enforce the ſentence; the Homes intimidated yielded their fortreſſes, and appear to have

[2] O. Margaret to Dacre, St. Matthew's eve, 20 Sept. 1517, Cal. B. I, 239, and Oct. 1517, ib. 247.

[3] C. Dacre to Margaret, Oct. 1517, B. I, 243. He at the ſame time expreſſes his wonder that ſhe ſhould write for the return of George Home, (afterwards lord Home,) and the prior of Coldingham, who had retired into the Engliſh frontiers; but ſhe anſwers that ſhe writes at Wedderburn's deſire, and that while De la Baſtie lived the Homes could obtain no favour in Scotland. B. I, 244, 239. David Home, prior of Coldingham, was murdered by James Hepburn of Hailes. Leſl. 389, Buch. XIV, 10. Lindſay, 203. In revenge Blacader, his ſucceſſor, was aſſaſſinated by Home of Wedderburn as after narrated.

[4] Rymer, XIII, 599. This peace of two years was granted at the requeſt of France. O. Margaret to Dacre (Oct. 1517) B. I, 241.

1518 been pardoned on ſubmiſſion, and perhaps by ſome gratifications to the avarice of their proſecutors [5].

During nearly four ſucceeding years the materials of hiſtory are ſcanty, and unimportant; and with the void in our annals the defect of the epiſtolary commerce of the actors concerned alſo correſponds. When great events are in agitation numerous reſources muſt be employed, an eagerneſs of intelligence prevails; and the letters being of real importance are the more likely to be preſerved. England had likewiſe attained her chief object in effecting the abſence of Albany, and was occupied with more important affairs on the continent, ſo that her intercourſe with Scotland, (to which we are indebted for the moſt curious epiſtles, France being too diſtant, and the natives not correſponding with each other on events generally known in their country,) became lax and unfrequent; and a ſimilar ſterility is found during the actual authority of James V, his attachment to France rendering any correſpondence with England, except by the means of embaſſadors, almoſt an act of treaſon.

In the former reign the repeated inſurrections of Sweden againſt Denmark, the ally of Scotland, have been mentioned; and the aid promiſed or lent by James IV to John the Daniſh ſovereign. Sweden continuing to ſhew as little attachment to Chriſtiern II, the ſucceſſor of his father John, and afterwards from his cruel meaſures in that kingdom to be ſurnamed the tyrant, he had in the preceding year applied to the Scotiſh regency, for the aſſiſtance of a thouſand highlanders, to war in the mountainous heaths of the rebellious country [6]. This requeſt was refuſed, on pretence that the highlanders were then engaged in continued conflicts among themſelves [7]; but really becauſe the government had no power over thoſe lawleſs

[5] Leſl. 388, 389. [6] Epiſt. R. S. I, 301. [7] Ibid. 302.

men,

men; whom the diſtance and ignorance of Chriſtiern had repreſented to him as the immediate ſubjects of Scotland. Chriſtiern now ſent a herald to the Scotiſh council, with a letter from Albany enforcing his demands of men and artillery; but they were eluded on pretext of the uncertain diſpoſitions of England, which continued to receive the rebels of Scotland, and to injure her borders [8]. 1518 June

The diſcord between the factions of Angus and Arran continued to increaſe; but the former was ſomewhat weakened by the want of confidence between the queen and her huſband. She had behaved with the attention, if not the affection, of a wife, ſince her return; and had even pawned or ſold her jewels and plate, to ſupport his intereſt, his perſonal profuſion being great [9]. But not contented with waſting her property he wounded both her love, and her pride, by vague amours, particularly with a lady of Douglaſdale [1], a daughter of Stuart of Traquair according to ſome, whom his violent paſſion had ſecluded from her friends, and by whom he had a daughter Jane Douglas afterwards wedded to Patrick lord Ruthven [2]. The queen, ſtung with this new diſgrace, which revived and increaſed the latent but deep wound inflicted by his former abrupt and cruel dereliction of her ſick-bed in England, now ſpoke of a divorce [3]. But Henry, ſenſible that ſuch a ſtep would be ruinous to his intereſts in Scotland, ſent ſurreptitiouſly a friar, named Henry Chadworth, miniſter general of the friars obſervants in England, who remonſtrated againſt her intentions with the vehemence and haughtineſs to be expected from a recluſe; and preſented letters from Henry worthy of Aug. Oct.

[8] Ibid. 305. [9] Cal. B. I, 275. [1] Leſl. 391.
[2] Hume's Houſe of Douglas, II, 83. [3] Leſl. 391.

his

1518 his natural tyranny and impetuoſity [4]. A copy of a letter from the friar to the queen is extant [5]: it is replete with latin and ſcripture, and with advices againſt the divorce, a deſign to which, he ſays, ſhe can only be ſeduced by "damnable deluſion," as malice alone can blame Angus, whoſe fair daughter by her ſhe was unnaturally about to abandon: and it even concludes with a kind of impeachment of her own conduct, thundering loud and ſharp ſentences againſt adultery. Such means were little adapted to the inborn freedom of the human mind, or to the ſoftneſs of a ſex, repugnant to ſternneſs, though eaſily won by gentleneſs; and Margaret was henceforth ſomewhat eſtranged from her brother, and even more negligent of her reputation, thus wantonly attacked by her friends, while her enemies were ſilent. She was however for a while intimidated, and confounded; and though the chancellor, Argyle, Arran, Lennox, with the lords Fleming, Sempil, and Maxwell, warmly oppoſed her reconciliation to Angus, ſhe met him at Edinburgh, and it was effected for a ſeaſon [6]: but it was inſincere; and, after ſeven years inquietude, a divorce often threatened was at length to divide this unhappy marriage. Margaret however inſiſted upon a renunciation from Angus of any claim upon her revenues; and ſoon after ſigned a commiſſion to Dacre, Magnus, and Robert Ker of Selkirk, who empowered Gawin Dunbar arch-deacon of
23 Dec. St. Andrews, Robert Barton of Over Barnton, Sir Thomas

[4] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 22 Oct. [1518,] B. II, 277. Angus in an original letter to Henry, 19 Oct. [1518,] B. I, 141, teſtifies his gratitude for the miſſion of Chadworth. From this letter it appears that Sir George Douglas had been two years in France, by command of the regent.

[5] Cal. B. VI, 194. It is alluded to in Margaret's curious defence of herſelf, ſent to Dacre, 11 March 1522, B. VI, 232.

[6] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 22 Oct. [1518], B. II, 277.

Halkerſton

Halkerſton provoſt of Crichton, James Wiſhart of Pittaro juſtice clerk, and Adam Otterburn, to collect her rents, and manage her endowed eſtates which were very conſiderable [7]. 1518

We have ſeen Albany intercede with the council of regency, in ſupport of the Daniſh king's requeſt: and he continued, during his reſidence at Paris, to interfere in the foreign affairs of Scotland, in virtue of the commiſſion given to him to tranſact them, though abſent from his official ſtation. Patrick Panter remained in France, as his ſecretary, where he died the following year; Albany having uſed his eloquent pen in promoting his influence. The citizens of Middleburg applied to the nominal regent, deſiring to have their town conſtituted the Scotiſh mart in the Low Countries, inſtead of Campvere; but the latter by preſents to Albany maintained its appointment [8]. The diſpoſal of benefices was however the moſt fertile field of peculation: and Albany, by frequent applications to the pope, exerted himſelf to render it productive [9]: but he has the merit of ſoliciting for natives, while the cardinals, and the Italian clergy, their dependents, were eagerly graſping at every vacant benefice in chriſtendom; nor did their avarice ſpare ſituations of which they were as ignorant as of the antipodes; an abuſe daily complained of, and among many others, to advance the reformation now commenced by Luther.

Not contented with a diſtant influence, Albany had recourſe to a mean artifice, in order to induce the French monarch to delegate him to his former ſtation in Scotland; by commanding Panter to write a letter to Leo X, in the name of the three eſtates of Scotland, and dated at Edinburgh, intreating 1519 Jan.

[7] C. Commiſſion, dated at length 23 Dec. 1518, Cal. B. VI, folio ver. 107.

[8] Epiſt. R. S. I, 276, 284.

[9] Ibid. 278, 282, 288, &c. One letter ſucceſsfully ſolicits the abbey of Scone for Alexander Stuart, the regent's elder brother.

the

1519 the pontiff to intercede for them with Francis, that the regent might be permitted to return [1]: but this artifice was as ineffectual as it was preſumptuous.

Meanwhile the Daniſh king, finding his ſucceſs againſt Steno Sture, the ſecond Swediſh adminiſtrator of that name, more and more doubtful [2], did not ceaſe to inſtigate the remote aid of Scotland, by the means of his embaſſador Alexander Kinghorn, a Scotiſh phyſician eſtabliſhed in Denmark. The council of regency and the earl of Arran whoſe power as lieutenant May general, was now ſuch as to be ſeparately courted, anſwered that the incurſions of the iſlanders prevented any great exertion in ſupport of their ally; but that any rebels, or perſons guilty of treaſon againſt the ſtate, ſhould be arreſted and ſent [3]. A fit aſſiſtance to the ſecond Chriſtiern, now revolving the ſanguinary maſſacre of Stockholm, and opening by the axe of deſpotiſm the path to Swediſh independance, and to the glorious revolution to be effected by Guſtaf Waſe! Yet ſoon after a ſmall ſupply of ſoldiers and ammunition was ſent to Copenhagen, under the command of James Stuart of Ardgowan [4]; but ſome merchants of Leith giving in, almoſt at the ſame time, a remonſtrance againſt the Danes, who had ſeized their ſhip after it had been rifled by Swediſh pirates; the council ſent a warm memorial to Chriſtiern [5]; and appear to have abandoned any further effort to ſerve him in his ungenerous enterprizes.

The French king having renewed the peace with England in the preceding year, and Scotland being included among other allies, if ſhe accepted the terms [6], an embaſſador came

[1] Epiſt. R. S. I, 294, and the note of the tranſcriber 296.
[2] Mallet Abr. de l'Hiſt. de Dannemarc, I, 188.
[3] Epiſt. R. S. I, 313, 315. [4] Ibid. 317, 318.
[5] Ib. 320. [6] Du Tillet, Recueil des Traictez, ſub anno.

from

from France to England, in order thence to proceed to Scotland[7], and procure a prolongation of the truce, about to expire at St. Andrew's day. At the ſame time Francis had written to the council of regency, deſiring this extenſion of the truce; but the chancellor informed Dacre that the powers of the council were not ſufficient for this purpoſe, and that the conſent of a parliament was neceſſary[8]: and it indeed appears, from many events and diſpatches, that it was eſteemed indiſpenſable to call a parliament, when any matter of moment was to be diſcuſſed. This aſſembly was apparently ſoon convened; for the French embaſſador, attended by Benolt the Clarenceux herald, proceeded towards Scotland; and was met at Morpeth by Dacre, purſuant to Wolſey's deſire[9]. He brought Henry's conſent to the prolongation of the truce for one year, to St. Andrew's day fifteen hundred and twenty; and Wolſey wrote to the queen that the due payment of her revenues, and her honourable treatment, were ſpecial terms of the truce[1]. As the French embaſſador declared that, if Scotland rejected this treaty, France would abandon her cauſe[2], the conditions were after ſome deliberation accepted[3]; but not without

1519 Oct. Nov.

[7] Leſley, 393, mentions de la Fiott (Fayette?) and Cordell, as the French embaſſadors. Rymer omits the inſtrument of peace from Nov. 30, 1519, to Nov. 30, 1520.

[8] C. Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, chancellor, to Dacre, 29 Oct. B. II, 197.

[9] C. Wolſey to Dacre, [Nov. 1519,] Cal. B. VI, 6.

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

[3] Margaret in a letter to Wolſey, 17 Dec. [1519,] B. VI, 270, informs him that the peace had been proclaimed that day, by the lords and Clarenceux at Stirling, to continue till St. Andrew's day next, (30 Nov. 1520:) ſhe complains of the conduct of the peers, and wiſhes to withdraw into England, as ſhe and Angus never can live in concord. She adds that as Henry had ſent her a diamond, ſhe returns a token to him, being a ring which he had formerly ſent to her;

1519 without reflections on the haughty conduct of France to her ally, whom ſhe never previouſly conſulted in a pacification, but made treaties on her own terms, and then forced Scotland to aſſent [4].

Meanwhile ſuſpicions of a peſtilence having ariſen at Edinburgh, the king was removed from the caſtle to Dalkeith, a pleaſant village in its vicinity, where the court was increaſed and adorned by the arrival of the earl of Murray from France [5], He was a natural ſon of the late king, and now in his twentieth year [6]; but his deſtiny in hiſtory is obſcure, and unlike that of the celebrated regent, the ſon of James V. The public commotions were far from being appeaſed even by the diſmal apprehenſions of a peſtilence, and the factions of Angus and Arran raged with increaſing fury. David Home of Wedderburn, who had married the ſiſter of Angus, revived his character of an aſſaſſin, by the murder of Blacader, prior of Coldingham, and ſix men of his family: and William Douglas

her; and apologizes for not writing with her own hand, as ſhe is ſick with the ſmall pox.

Though Rymer, as juſt mentioned, has no inſtrument of this truce, Leſley, who has uſed far ſuperior materials to thoſe of Buchanan, preſents ſome curious details concerning it, p. 393, from which it appears that Angus endeavoured to induce the embaſſadors to regard him, and his party, as the rulers; and upon their perſiſting in requiring the conſent of Arran, and the council, and concluding the truce at Stirling with them, Angus beſet the envoys on their return by Carlaveroc, and not only ſternly reproached them, but put them in the utmoſt fear of their lives.

[4] Our hiſtorians often err in ſuppoſing Scotland not mentioned in the treaties between France and England: the affront lay in not demanding the previous conſent, and counſel of Scotland.

[5] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 19 Oct. [1519,] Cal. B. III, 16.

[6] Ibid. "He is a *ſpringeold* (fine youth) of twenty years of age." He was afterwards lieutenant general of the kingdom 1532, and embaſſador to France 1535. He died in 1544: Stewart's Gen. p. 85.

brother

brother of Angus ſeized the priory[7]. Nor was the capital 1519
ſacred from their debates, for Arran, who is now termed
lieutenant general of the kingdom[8], a ſtation perhaps aſſigned
to him by Albany on his departure, having been elected provoſt
or mayor of Edinburgh, an office ever of high reſpect, but at
that time, on account of its influence in the chief city, an
object of ambition even among the nobles, the Douglaſes ex-
erted every effort to diſpell this addition to his power; which
had recently been increaſed by a divorce from his wife, and a
marriage with the chancellor's niece, ſo that the archbiſhop
was now devoted to Arran's faction[9]. Taking advantage of
his abſence, and that of the king, from the capital, they pro-
cured Archibald Douglas, the uncle of Angus to be choſen
provoſt: and upon Arran's ſpeedy return, the gates were ſhut, Dec.
he was oppoſed by arms, and repulſed; many being wounded,
and a few ſlain[1]. Gawin a carpenter, being reputed a chief
author of the tumult, was ſoon after ſlain by Sir James Ha-
milton[2]. The French envoy and Clarenceux[3], ſtill remaining
in Scotland till the truce ſhould have paſſed through the uſual
forms, were witneſſes of thoſe and other diſgraceful diſorders.

The king was ſpeedily brought back to the caſtle of Edin-
burgh, and was attended by Angus, Errol, Crawford, Glamis,

[7] Leſl. 392. O. Dacre to Wolſey, 19 Oct. B. III, 16.

[8] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 10 Dec. [1519,] Cal. B. II, 221.

[9] Ibid. Crawford in his Renfrewſhire, and Peerage, ſuppoſes this divorce and new marriage to have taken place in 1513. Arran's bride was Janet, daughter of Sir David Beton of Creigh in Fife, Crawf. ib. Yet ſhe is mentioned as the wife of Arran in a charter of Nov. 1516. Scotſt. Cal. if there be no miſtake. The date of Dacre's letter is very clear from its other contents, and yet he mentions the marriage as recent.

[1] Ibid.

[2] Leſl. 392, whoſe account of theſe tranſactions is authenticated by Dacre's letter. Perhaps *Faber lignarius* may be a name—Gawin Wright.

[3] Dacre's letter, 10 Dec.

1519 Forman archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, the biſhops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Orkney, Dumblane, and many abbots and eccleſiaſtics of rank, who withdrew to the capital as a place of ſafety. But the gates of the caſtle were ſhut by the lords to whoſe care the king was committed; and the party of Angus did not preſume to violate the decree of the national council. Arran for a while withdrew to Glaſgow; whither he was followed by the chancellor, Lennox, Eglinton, Caſſils, Sempil, Roſs, the biſhop of Galloway, the abbot of Paiſley, and many other eccleſiaſtic, and temporal, chiefs of the weſtern regions [5]; ſo that the diſpute ſeemed to divide Scotland into the eaſtern and weſtern factions, the former maintaining the Engliſh, the latter the French, intereſt.

1520 Jan. Among the enemies of Angus was Ker of Ferniherſt, irritated by ſome diſpute concerning a court to be held in Jedburgh-foreſt. Sir James Hamilton, the baſtard of Arran, aſſembled four hundred men to ſupport the claim of Ferniherſt; but John lord Somerville, and Ker of Ceſsford, ſuddenly attacking Hamilton's party, they fled, leaving four on the field, and their leader with difficulty eſcaped to Home caſtle [6].

A parliament having been ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh on the twenty ninth day of April [7], probably with a view to mitigate the contending factions, and allay the national diſorders, very different effects enſued. For the party of Angus

[5] Leſl. 392.

[6] Leſl. 394. Buchan. XIV, 11. The latter, in his uſual erroneous chronology, aſcribes this incident to 1517.

[7] Buch. XIV, 12. The ſubſequent account of this affray called Cleanſe the Cauſway is drawn from Buchan. ib. Leſley, 394; but chiefly from Lindſay, 186—188, who however, with his uſual want of chronology, dates the event in 1513. See alſo Hume's Houſe of Douglas, II, 75—80. Unhappily no original letter on the ſubject remains.

having

having in a great meaſure evacuated the capital, that the aſ- 1520
ſembly might be free, that of Arran arrived in ſuch numbers
that apprehenſions were entertained, or pretended, for the
ſafety of Angus, who had retained only about four hundred
followers armed with ſpears. From Buchanan's account it
indeed appears that to ſooth the Hamiltons, Archibald Douglas
had reſigned his magiſtracy, which was conferred on Robert
Logan[8]; and that the fears for Angus were well grounded, as
the weſtern peers had met in the chancellor's houſe, and con-
ſulted on the means of apprehending that earl. Angus, in-
formed of their meeting and intentions, ſent his uncle Gawin
Douglas biſhop of Dunkeld to caution them againſt any vio-
lence; and offered, if they had any offence to alledge, that he
would be judged by the laws of the country. But the biſhop
found them already armed, and determined on the moſt deſ- 30 Apr.
perate meaſures. He reproached the chancellor, James Beton
archbiſhop of Glaſgow, for procedures ſo unworthy of a
churchman, who imputed the whole to Arran, enraged at the
many inſults he had ſuffered from Angus. The archbiſhop,
prepared for a rencounter, had clothed himſelf with mail con-
cealed under his caſſock, and concluded a vehement ſpeech to
Gawin Douglas by ſtriking his breaſt, and exclaiming, "There
is no remedy. Upon my conſcience, I cannot help it." His
armour rang under his hand; and Dunkeld ſaid, with a ſneer,
"I perceive, my lord, that your conſcience is not ſound, as
appears from its rattling." He then applied to Sir Patrick
Hamilton, the brother of Arran, to mediate concord; but Sir
James Hamilton, Arran's natural ſon, reproaching Sir Patrick
as averſe to fight, the latter was ſtung with the ſarcaſm, and

[8] Arnot, Hiſt. Edin. quotes the council regiſter, Vol. I, p. 12, for an order in Albany's name, prohibiting the election of a Hamilton or a Douglas into the office of provoſt. It is dated 20 Feb. 1519-20.

they

1520 they all ruſhed into the ſtreets, attended by a formidable band of followers.

Meanwhile Angus had arranged his adherents in the high ſtreet, and apparently in the upper part of it extending from the caſtle to St. Giles's church; and he was now, or in the midſt of the conflict, joined by David Home of Wedderburn, and William Douglas prior of Coldingham, with their ferocious followers from the marches, ſummoned before to his aſſiſtance by the zeal of his friends. The conteſt was fierce; and about ſeventy were ſlain, among whom was Sir Patrick Hamilton, who fell by the hand of Angus himſelf[9], and lord Montgomery the ſon of Eglinton. Arran, (whoſe followers could hardly form any batallion, being ſlain or routed as they iſſued from the narrow paſſages on the ſouth into the ſtreet), was forced to flee with his baſtard ſon through a ford in the northern lake; while the chancellor, and many others, regained the Dominican church, on the oppoſite ſide of the city[1]. Beton was ſeized behind the high altar, and in danger of his life, when Gawin Douglas who had, with the decency of his order, retired to his lodging during the conflict, learning the perilous ſituation of the archbiſhop, flew to his reſcue; and requeſting his aſſailers not to contaminate their cauſe by the blood of a conſecrated prelate, he ſucceeded in the pious attempt.

The party of Angus remained maſters of the city, and did not uſe their victory with much moderation. The earl viſited the queen his wife, who had taken refuge in the caſtle, and whoſe affections were completely eſtranged from him. George

[9] This circumſtance is evidenced by a letter from Wolſey to Norfolk, 1524, Cal. B. I, 325, mentioning the cauſes of the enmity between Angus and Arran: the cardinal adds that the former attempted to kill the latter himſelf.

[1] The Blackfriars, or Dominican, convent and church occupied the ſite of the preſent Infirmary, a happy exchange of ſuperſtition for beneficence.

Home

Home the brother of the late earl, and many other chiefs, with their followers, ſome months after, joined Angus at Edinburgh. In contempt of Albany's authority, the heads of the executed earl of Home, and his brother William, were taken down from the tolbooth, and ſolemnly buried in the Dominican church yard[2]. On the following day, Angus learning that the chancellor, and other partizans of Arran, were to meet at Stirling, he ſuddenly marched thither, expecting to ſeize them unaware; but they had timely notice, and eſcaped. He then diſmiſſed his followers, and all retired to their reſpective homes[3]. 1520 21 July

Francis I having been informed of the tumultuous ſtate of Scotland, had diſpatched Flamigny[4], in the beginning of the year, to recommend internal concord; but the haughty conduct of the French king, on repeated occaſions, had left him but ſmall influence with his ally. A more dignified embaſſy now arrived in the perſons of Robert Stuart, lord of Aubigny, a ſucceſſor of the victor of Naples, and Johan de Planis, whoſe former reſidence in Scotland had given him experience in the affairs of that country[5]. Their inſtructions were to this purport, that peace ſhould be preſerved as much as poſſible during the king's minority, and that the truce with England ſhould be prolonged; that Albany's return ought not to be deſired, being warmly oppoſed by Henry, who had averred, that, on that event, he would declare war at the expiration of the truce, and the Engliſh party at the ſame time oppoſing Albany, Nov.

[2] Leſl. 395, ever ſuperior in accuracy to Buchanan, who, XIV, 12, dates this incident in the enſuing year. Seldom or never are elegance and exactneſs united. [3] Leſl. ibid.

[4] Inſtructions to Aubigny, Cal. B. VI, 140. C. letter of Francis to the parliament of Scotland, ib. 147. C. letters ſent by Flamigny, ib. 148.

[5] C. Francis to parl. of S. ib. 147.

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1520 an external war would be joined with inteſtine commotions; that Francis earneſtly attached to the welfare of Scotland, deſired his embaſſadors to uſe every endeavour to allay the domeſtic ferments, and reſtore public order; and laſtly that as Louiſa, the mother of the French king, and ever regent in his abſence, was to ſend an embaſſy to England, before St. Andrew's day, ſo the Scots ſhould be deſired to follow the ſame courſe[6]. A letter was alſo brought, directed to the parliament of Scotland, importing that Francis now fulfilled his promiſe by Flamigny, that an honourable embaſſy ſhould be ſent, to appeaſe diſcords, in committing this truſt to Aubigny the captain of his guards, and De Planis a doctor of laws, both of them counſellors of ſtate; and that it was advantageous for the internal and external tranquillity of Scotland that Albany ſhould remain in France[7].

But the political ſky now began to be darkened with clouds, which were ſoon to produce a tempeſt. In the preceding year Charles king of Spain had been elected emperor, in oppoſition to Francis I, whoſe reſentment indicated thoſe approaching wars, which were for a long time to agitate Europe. The Engliſh monarch held his famous conference with Francis in June this year: but the ambition of Wolſey, who hoped to attain the papacy by ſupporting Charles V, was ſoon to direct the councils of Henry againſt France. The French embaſſadors had been diſpatched at a time when it was the intereſt of both Henry and Francis that peace between England and Scotland ſhould be preſerved; but the fluctuation of Henry's diſpoſition now rendered it neceſſary that Scotland ſhould be free from that connection, that ſhe might aſſiſt France if attacked by the Engliſh arms. Amid theſe doubts and variations

[6] Inſtructions, ibid. [7] Epiſt. ſupra cit.

it

it is no wonder that only ſhort and reluctant truces were formed[8]; which however continued till the ſecond day of February fifteen hundred and twenty two, when they were ſucceeded by open war. 1520

Aubigny and De Planis having remained in Scotland ſome months, vainly attempting to conciliate the inteſtine debates, now returned through England to France[9]. But an envoy from Albany remained behind to manage his intereſts; and particularly to effect a grand deſign, which was for a ſhort time to have no ſmall influence in Scotiſh politics[1]. The queen, not chuſing punctually to follow the dictates of Henry, was treated by him, and by Wolſey and Dacre, with neglect: and in revenge, and in expectation of more attention, and more conſiderable pecuniary ſupplies, ſhe turned her eyes towards France. A conjunction of her intereſts with thoſe of Albany promiſed to both the complete command of Scotland; and ſhe knew the French court was prodigal of money in ſupport of any ſcheme, while the avaricious Wolſey too intent on 1521 March

[8] See Rymer, 730—733, concerning Aubigny and De Planis. Some correſpondence on the ſubject, between the archbiſhop of Glaſgow chancellor and Dacre, Feb. and March 1521, is extant, Cal. B. VI, 227, 229. The chancellor dates "at my ciete of Glaſgow," and complains that his lands of Stobo had been deſpoiled by the Engliſh borderers.

[9] Their original letter to Dacre, deſiring a ſafe conduct, is dated 22 Feb. 1521, B. III, 137. It is hardly neceſſary to remind the reader that where the year began on the 25th of March, the date is throughout this work ſilently and uniformly accommodated to modern computation.

[1] C. Inſtructions, Angus, Home, and Somerville, to Dunkeld, 14 Dec. 1521, B. VI, 204, where it is mentioned that this envoy had been for a year with Margaret, to prepare the conjunction: and it is probable that he was Gouzolles, captain of Dunbar; for Leſley, 389, ſays that one Maurice was, in 1517, appointed to that office; and Lindſay 204, 222, names Maurice as captain of that fortreſs in 1524 and 1528. The name was perhaps Maurice de Gouzolles. In Lindſay's hiſtory, p. 204, *Luſence* is a mere corruption of Gouzolles. See the notes at 1524.

1521. amaſſing treaſures to purchaſe the papal throne, would not ſupply her finances, rendered dubious and ſcanty by the diſturbed ſtate of property, amid the inteſtine conflagrations. At any rate ſhe would evince her weight to Henry, and render him willing to ſecure her return to his intereſts by a conduct more fraternal, and rewards more opulent. Such, if we may judge from her own letters, were the motives of Margaret. On the other hand Albany had found from experience how ineffectual his own power had proved; and as he had, after a raſh recourſe to violent meaſures againſt her, in vain attempted a reconciliation, when the offences were too keen and recent, it is not ſurprizing that he eagerly acceded to this plan, firſt ſuggeſted as appears, by a letter from the queen, inviting his return [2]. The terms were accordingly, unknown to England, concluded to the ſatisfaction of both; but they were conditional as the conſent of Francis to Albany's preſence in Scotland could not be effected at the expence of his amity with Henry; an obſtacle which the inimical conduct of the Engliſh court towards France was ſoon to remove.

This plot was however diſcloſed by ſpies to the acute Dacre,
10 July who in a letter reproached the queen for writing to Francis and ſoliciting Albany's return, while ſhe knew that his father had termed James III a baſtard, and had aſpired to the kingdom [3]; a conduct which the regent's ambition would prompt
14 July him to imitate. Margaret, in her anſwer, confeſſes that ſhe wrote the letter, at the requeſt, as ſhe alledges, of the peers; but accuſes Henry and Wolſey, as the authors of her neceſſity to adopt this plan, as her revenues ſince her return had been dilapidated, and ſhe had in vain applied to her brother for

[2] O. Dacre to Margaret, 10 July, Cal. B. II, 158. [3] Ibid.

remedy.

remedy [4]. Wolſey alſo informed Dacre that he had ſome in- 1521
telligence of this deſign, the French king having imparted to the Engliſh embaſſador at Paris that Albany intended to reviſit Scotland, and was ſoliciting the queen's divorce from Angus, apparently with an intention to marry her; and that Francis had added his apprehenſions concerning the fate of the infant king [5].

During theſe tranſactions the powers of the regency were inſenſibly diminiſhed; Angus, one of the members, maintaining an uncontrouled ſway. He was ever firmly attached to the Engliſh intereſt, but his youth and inexperience rendered his attachment of little value, and the diſorders of his followers diſguſted all ranks; while Arran, himſelf a model of domeſtic œconomy and prudence, recommended his party by their general reſpect to law and property [6].

Henry being now about to conclude a treaty with the emperor Charles V againſt France, the intereſts of the latter country no longer prohibited the return of Albany to Scotland, but on the contrary demanded the preſence of this delegate of Francis in that country. The regent accordingly ſailed; and arrived at Gareloch in Lennox, on the nineteenth of Novem- 19 Nov.
ber [7]. Proceeding by eaſy journeys to Linlithgow, he was

[4] O. Margaret to Dacre, Cal. B. II, 159. It was probably about this time that the queen ſent an envoy to England, with the inſtructions, B. II, 300; they mention a report in Scotland, which Margaret repeated with tears, that the young king was with Henry his uncle in England, while ſhe had a poor child in his place. The party of Angus might thus attempt to agitate the public mind.

[5] C. Wolſey to Dacre, B. III, 52. Albany's wife was ſickly, and threatened, or promiſed, no long exiſtence.

[6] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 9 Jan. 1525, B. II, 72.

[7] Leſl. 396. Buchanan, XIV, 13, puts 30 Oct. erroneouſly as uſual, for Dunkeld in his memorial, B. III, 309, ſays Albany did not arrive till towards the end of November.

1521 there joined by the queen; who had left Edinburgh, then poſſeſſed by Angus, in the night, accompanied by ſeveral lords and chiefs, among whom was remarked Sir James Hamilton the natural ſon of Arran, and mortal enemy of Angus [8]. Margaret, who at the time of Albany's former regency, had been juſt wedded to a young and attentive huſband, and had regarded the duke as both a political and perſonal enemy, was now changed with the times; and ſuch imprudent marks of affection appeared, between her and the regent, that there was ample room for ſcandal to accuſe them both of adultery [9].

The nobles and chiefs crouding to the regent's court with congratulations, Angus and his party fled from Edinburgh to-
3 Dec. wards the borders in great diſmay. The regent entered the capital, accompanied by the queen, the chancellor, and a numerous aſſemblage of the peers [1]. On the following day he viſited the king in the caſtle, when the captain delivered the keys to the regent, who gave them to the queen; and from her hands again received them, as a ſymbol that he was the moſt proper perſon to keep the infant monarch [2]. He then

[8] C. Dacre's inſtructions to an envoy, ſent to Margaret, 6 March 1522, B. VI, 230; Margaret's anſwer, B. VI, 232: but in the inſtructions from Angus to Dunkeld, VI, 204, it is ſaid that Albany on his arrival went to Stirling, whence he and the queen proceeded to Linlithgow together: the latter account ſeems a party exaggeration.

[9] The original letters, alluding to this, are numerous; and ſome will be referred to in the ſubſequent narrative. In the mean time the very words of Dacre may be quoted, from his paper ſent to Henry, being an opinion on the *articles* of Angus, Home, and Somerville, Dec. 1521, B. VI, 205. "There is marvellous grete intelligence betwene her (the queen) and the duk, as wele all the day as mich of the night: and in maner they ſett not by who knowe it. And if I durſt ſay it, for fere of diſpleaſure of my ſoverain, they ar over tendre; whereof if your grace examyne the Buſhop of Dunkeld of his conſcience, I truſt he will ſhew the troughe." f. v. 205. [1] Leſl. 396.

[2] C. Inſtructions, Angus, &c. to Dunkeld, 14 Dec. B. VI, 204.

ordered

ordered a parliament to be proclaimed, to be held at Edinburgh 1521
on the twenty ſixth of that month of December: and the
Douglaſes and their adherents, particularly Somerville, Home of Wedderburn, Cambuſnethan, Cockburn of Langton, were ſoon after formally ſummoned to anſwer the high charges to be adduced againſt them [3].

Meanwhile Albany and the queen had entered into a correſpondence with Dacre [4], who to the former, complaining that the truce had been infringed, anſwered that his deſire was to preſerve it inviolate: to the queen Dacre replies that ſhe only writes by the regent's inſtigation [5], when ſhe avers that he had come to Scotland to ſerve her ſon who had been ill-treated, and aſſiſt her in procuring her jointure, that his arrival was for peace internal and external; and when ſhe concludes with reproaching Dacre with her injuries, particularly in counſelling Angus againſt her intereſt. Albany ſent Gaultier Malignes, his ſecretary, to Dacre, remonſtrating that 12 Dec.
though Henry was bound by the truce not to receive Scotiſh rebels, yet the biſhop of Dunkeld, ſummoned to Rome by the regent's deſire, and other rebels, were permitted to paſs into England; and he deſires they may be reſtored, to anſwer for their miſdeeds at the approaching parliament. Dacre replied that the chief infringement of the truce was by the Scots themſelves, who, becauſe a petty Engliſh incurſion had been unredreſſed, had recently entered England to the amount of four

[3] Leſl. ib.

[4] To be found in Caligula, B. VI, 198—203. On the 1ſt of December 1521, Albany and the chancellor wrote to the cardinal of Ancona, deſiring that the ſee of St. Andrew's might be aſſigned to Beton, ſo that Forman was now dead. B. VI, 214, 225.

[5] This inſinuation ſeems confirmed by the queen's letter, 4 Dec. B. VI, 200, in which the date, and ſignature, are added in a different ink, probably after the letter had been ſhewn to Albany.

hundred

1521 hundred men, had burnt Learmouth near Wark, and therein a helpleſs female; had carried off four hundred kine, two thouſand ſheep, four hundred goats, and thirty geldings, with twenty captives. He at the ſame time retorted that lord Maxwell, the warden of the weſtern marches, would not proclaim the peace; while the Homes, termed by Albany rebels, were the ſole guardians of the eaſtern borders: and that if redreſs were not aſſigned the truce was to be regarded as annulled: nor does he addreſs Albany as regent, but as one of the council. This ſpirited letter procured from the regent an immediate promiſe of redreſs: and the truce maintained its dubious faith till its expiration at candlemas next year. Dacre
19 Dec. communicated theſe affairs to Wolſey [6], at the ſame time informing him that Albany already uſed the ſtyle of majeſty, ſaying "our wardens," and "our parliament;" and that, as he had ſpoken thus, "who is this Dacre? Is there none of you borderers who can fall into an altercation with him, and do me a pleaſure?" he requeſted the cardinal to iſſue a joint commiſſion of wardency to himſelf and his brothers; that if danger aroſe he might ſend one of them to tranſact the buſineſs of the borders. He alſo adds that, ſince the arrival of Albany, three ſhips had reached Scotland from France laden with artillery, cartwheels, mattocks, and ſpades, accompanied by not one gentleman, but by one hundred and ſixty craftſmen and artificers, chiefly as would appear in the military line; and that they had brought into port a Flemiſh ſhip of war, taken on their voyage [7]. The minuteneſs of theſe, and ſome other particulars, it is hoped the reader will pardon, not only as they are new and unknown to former writers, but as they illuſtrate the times, and the manners.

[6] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 19 Dec. 1521, Cal. B. II, 274. [7] Ibid.

Angus,

Angus, George Home, called lord Home by the Engliſh party, and Somerville, having taken refuge at the Kirk of Steyle, empowered the biſhop of Dunkeld, now paſſing into England, to tranſact their cauſe with Henry. Their inſtructions to him are ſigned on the fourteenth of December [8]; and after accuſing the queen of maintaining a correſpondence with Albany for a year paſt by means of his envoy, and referring to Dunkeld for other yet more criminal charges againſt her, they proceed to ſhew the danger in which their king is left; and to point out the remedies to be inſiſted on by Henry, ſuch as, that the regent have no appointment of officers about the perſon of James, nor approach within thirty miles of his reſidence; they conclude by requeſting Henry, as they had ſworn not to treat with Albany but with his leave, not to negotiate on his part without attention to their intereſt; and they deſire to know what ſupport they may expect if Albany aſcend the throne. Dunkeld was deſired to viſit Dacre on his journey; to whom having ſhewn his inſtructions, that ſkillful peer entruſted him with his opinion upon them in writing, with much additional information addreſſed to the Engliſh monarch, which not being deſtitute of curioſity and importance ſhall here be abſtracted [9]. Dacre remarks that there was a rumour in Scotland of Albany's aſcending the throne by the death of James; that the queen had attempted to induce Angus to a divorce, by offering him Ettrick foreſt, a part of her endowed lands, worth twelve hundred Scotiſh marks yearly; that the intelligence between her and the duke was ſcandalous, and in his opinion adulterous, if he may venture to inſinuate ſo deli- 1521

[8] Cal. B. VI, 204. There is every reaſon to conclude that theſe inſtructions were drawn up by the biſhop of Dunkeld. The obſcure kirk of Steyle, whence they are dated, ſeems unknown to modern maps.

[9] Cal. B. VI, 205.

cate

1521 cate a matter to his ſovereign, but for this he refers to Dunkeld; that the Scotiſh peers were more diſpoſed to their own intereſt than to that of James; and Albany's influence with his relation the pope was ſuch that all the abbeys were in his gift, and all the benefices falling in the papal month, which is every third month, and he gave them to ſons of peers, and other men of rank not in orders; lord Fleming's ſon having the abbey of Holyroodhouſe, worth yearly fourteen hundred pounds ſterling; that the regent ſold benefices as merchandize, and had received in money or ſecurity for them forty thouſand marks Scotiſh, equivalent to ten thouſand marks ſterling: that he offered peace to the Douglas party upon theſe terms, Angus to conſent to a divorce; and lord Home to reſign ſuch of his own or his wife's lands as were given away. The Engliſh warden proceeds to point out to his ſovereign the danger of Albany's ſeizing the crown, and Scotland's being thus ſubject to a Frenchman; but that it would be preferable to continue an appearance of truce, as the Scots were "of that poverty and wretchedneſs, that they cannot make reſtitution upon a peace, as is the practice of other realms:" he adds that ſums may be aſſigned to the northern lords of England, who ſhall make great inroads, and thus prevent the Scotiſh incurſions by occupying their borderers in defence; and that if Henry garriſon the frontiers, and a report of inſtant war be covertly ſpread, he may diſtreſs as much as by open enmity, except he prefer to ſend large armies. But this crafty advice was little adapted to Henry's impetuoſity.

end Dec. The biſhop of Dunkeld proceeded to London: and Angus and his followers were ſoon forced to retire into the Engliſh frontiers. Albany governed Scotland with abſolute ſway; and that ill-fated country ſeemed to have become a province of France.

BOOK XIII.

BEING

THE SECOND AND LAST PART OF

THE MINORITY OF JAMES V.

More moderate conduct of Albany—Dunkeld's memorial—Henry's enmity to his ſiſter—war with England—negotiations—Albany invades England—truce of Salom—Albany's ſecond retreat to France—Engliſh incurſions—deſign to give James the active ſceptre—Jedburgh burnt—Albany's third arrival—he inveſts Wark—his ſhameful flight—his final retreat to France—Margaret and Arran in power—accompliſhments of the young king—truce with England—duplicity of Margaret and Arran—Engliſh embaſſadors firſt reſident in Scotland—Angus returns—conſpiracy—regency adjuſted—Beton's intrigues—peace with England—Angus uſurps the ſupreme power—divorced from the queen—attempt of Buccleugh—of Lennox—the Douglaſes abuſe their power—Sir James Hamilton—commotions—Beton's intrigues—Patrick Hamilton burnt—James eſcapes from Angus.

THE ſix ſucceeding years of the minority of James V are variegated with numerous events, and with ſingular, and unexpected, changes in the government. A war of three years 1522

1522 with England is to produce no great nor deciſive incident; but is to add to the calamities which Scotland experienced under the inglorious regency of John duke of Albany.

Jan. The parliament, which the regent had ſummoned to Edinburgh [1], appears not to have proceeded againſt Angus, and his adherents. Albany had diſcovered from experience that violence is but a reſource of weakneſs, while a firm government is only to be founded on conciliation, and views of general intereſt. The biſhop of Dunkeld, now in London, where he was to die of the peſtilence in the enſuing month of March, managed with his uſual ability the cauſe of his party at the Engliſh court.

1 Jan. He repreſented to Wolſey that Gaultier Malignes, the ſecretary of Albany, ought not to be liſtened to in his claim concerning Dunkeld's being remitted to Scotland, as he intended only to paſs to Rome whither he had been ſummoned [2]; and he en-

6 Jan. deavoured to intereſt the cardinal againſt the promotion of James Beton archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and chancellor, to the ſee of St. Andrew's, vacant by Forman's death [3]: but Beton's ambition was nevertheleſs ſucceſsful.

A memorial, preſented by the biſhop of Dunkeld to the Engliſh court, deſerves eſpecial attention and ſhall here be abſtracted, as it throws new and ſtrong light on many features of Albany's regency, and on the ſtate of Scotland at this time: but it muſt not be forgotten that it is the work of an enemy [4]. Dunkeld ſtates that Albany has no eſtate in Scotland, ſufficient

[1] In this parliament, on the 28th Dec. 1521, the treaty of Rouen, Aug. 1517, was ſolemnly confirmed. MS. Leagues France and Scotland, Harl. 1244, ſub anno.

[2] O. Dunkeld to Wolſey, 1 Jan. 1522. Cal. B. VI, 213.

[3] O. ſame to ſame, 6 Jan. B. VI, 424.

[4] Cal. B. III, 309. Beſides intrinſic evidence that this important paper was compoſed by Dunkeld, on comparing it with ſuch of his letters as are not holographic, it will be found to be in the handwriting of his ſecretary.

to

to anſwer for his intromiſſions with the public money, but is a 1522
ſervant of France, an officer of her armies, a knight of her orders, a vaſſal for his wife's vaſt eſtates: that the king's fortreſſes of Dunbar, Dunbarton, and Inchgarvey, are garriſoned with Frenchmen, and the expences quadrupled, Albany being prodigal of the royal treaſures; each ſoldier was allowed four pounds Scotiſh money of monthly pay; to De la Baſtie, whom he had left as his deputy, a ſalary was aſſigned of five Scotiſh pounds daily, which, ſince his death, had been allotted to Arran: that the regent had not only waſted fifty thouſand franks, ſent by the French king to James in recompence of the damage ſuſtained by Scotland in aſſiſting France, and an additional ſum of twenty thouſand crowns recently received by himſelf during his reſidence in Paris, but had converted the royal robes, of cloth of gold and ſables, and the tapeſtries of purple and crimſon velvet [5] into dreſſes for his own pages, and ſervants, and coined the large ſilver vaſes [6]: that he had ſold the three famous ſhips, the pride of the Scotiſh navy, worth at leaſt three hundred thouſand franks, beſides ſome ſmaller veſſels, and had uſed the money as his own [7]: that he gave or ſold the lands and heritages falling to the crown, which, by the expreſs law of Scotland, the king himſelf could not do till he were of the age of twenty five years complete [8]; and

[5] "Palit of purpur and velvet crameſyn," is the poetical expreſſion of the tranſlator of Virgil.

[6] And coined in *plaks* (groats) the king's great ſilver *ſtoppis* double gilt.

[7] The famous Michael was ſold to Francis I, for 40,000 franks, (about as many pounds modern money,) in 1515 by Albany, with the ſolemn permiſſion of the Scotiſh council in the name of James, which ſee Epiſt. R. S. I, 214. Dunkeld ſays that the three ſhips, with artillery, &c. had coſt twice the ſum for which they were ſold.

[8] It was probably about this time that a paper was written, Cal. B. VI, 405, from which it appears that the chancellor poſſeſſed the earldom of Fife—Huntley

1522 and he had, within two years, ſold the wards both of lands and marriage of Drummond, Sanquhar, and Barnbougle, worth forty thouſand pounds Scotiſh currency, and the marriages of the heireſſes of Inverugy, worth more than ten thouſand pounds like money: that there was no adminiſtration of juſtice: that Albany ſold the eccleſiaſtic benefices: that, during the two firſt years of his regency, not leſs than three or four taxes, or contributions, had been levied on the people: that he had now impoſed another tax, to the amount of twenty five thouſand Scotiſh pounds: that he had appointed Robert Barton, a pirate, comptroller, and John Campbell, a baſtard, without property, treaſurer, who now jointly aſſerted that the king was indebted to each of them in a ſum of ten thouſand pounds, while they kept the royal child in ſuch poverty, that he had hardly new doublets and hoſe, till his natural ſiſter, the counteſs of Morton, provided them; and when the queen or Albany ſent cloth of gold for the purpoſe, thoſe covetous officers would not pay the taylor. The biſhop, as is before mentioned, next brings againſt Albany the heinous charge of the death of the duke of Roſs; and commemorates the ſimilar crimes of Richard III: at the ſame time mentioning that Albany has an elder brother, Alexander Stuart commendator of Scone and Inchaffray, not in holy orders, but legally capable of marriage[9]. He then ſtates that the parliament had, on the twenty firſt of January one thouſand five hundred and twenty one[1], declared

the lordſhips of Brechin and Stradyc—Murray the duchy of Roſs and Ardmanach—Argyle the lordſhip of the Iſles, Kintyre, Knapdale and Cowal—Lennox the lordſhip of Bute—Caſſils the lordſhip of Galloway, and earldom of *Wynchdome*; and he was to anſwer to the *Harbarties* for theſe *farms, at the duke's commandement.*

[9] His mother he calls a daughter of the earl of *Orkney.*

[1] In the original 1520: the modern computation is always followed.

that

that Albany's regency was to terminate, if he did not return before the firſt of Auguſt then next, now laſt[2], whereas he had not returned till towards the end of November, and had not been rechoſen, but had uſurped the authority: that the chancellor uſed his influence in procuring the ſucceſſion to the throne to be declared in favour of Arran's ſons, the children of his niece, and had ſaid, on baptizing the firſt, "Who knows but I may live to place the crown on this head?" This long and intereſting memorial is cloſed with a requeſt, that Henry will imitate the example of his anceſtor Henry III, who by arms removed the bad counſellors of the infant Alexander III[3]; and with a ſolemn aſſeveration of the veracity of its ſtatements. 1522

On the other hand, the queen ſent an envoy to Henry her brother, with copious inſtructions wholly written by herſelf[4]. She repreſents that Albany had given to her the biſhopric of Dunkeld, among other benefices, and deſires that Henry will not ſupport the biſhop, conſidering the evils which his counſels have produced in Scotland, and the ſcandalous reports which he propagates againſt her; but as ſhe had given to him the biſhopric, ſo ſhe ſhall ſhow that ſhe can reſume it. Margaret promiſes that an honourable embaſſy ſhall be ſent, if Henry will agree to prolong the truce to midſummer; and aſſerts that Albany had only returned to Scotland in conſequence of his engagements, and that if he had not come ſhe muſt have left the kingdom; that he interfered not with the king, but the lords had permitted her to remain with her ſon in Edinburgh caſtle; that the regent's conduct to her was moſt reſpectful[5], 6 Jan.

[2] "Lammas day laſt bypaſt."

[3] For this Dunkeld refers to "the Scottis Cornikle."

[4] Cal. B. VI, 208.

[5] "Sober and humbler nor ony other in Scotland."

and

1522 and that he allowed her money from his own coffers. She requeſts that Clarenceux may be ſent, as being well acquainted with Scotland, and known to her and Albany, who will declare to him his real intentions: if Henry refuſe audience to her meſſenger, ſhe deſires him to give in his inſtructions; if all acceſs be denied, to addreſs Wolſey; but ſhe hopes the king will lend a more favourable audience than his laſt, which was very ſtern: the cardinal, ſhe adds, may correſpond with Albany, yet ſhe expects to be conſulted; and as her induſtry has penned ſo long a paper, ſhe prays her labour be not vain.

But it was completely vain, and Henry continued to favour Dunkeld and his party, though Albany and the chancellor exerted every art againſt him; the malice of the latter being further inflamed by a report that the biſhop aſpired to the ſee of St. Andrew's, which he hoped to attain by the Engliſh intereſt at Rome [6]. The fame of Margaret was blighted at her brother's court: Henry's violent temper heſitated not to denounce his ſiſter's ſhame; and Wolſey, in the rage of his interrupted views, openly ſpoke of her, at the council board, as the concubine of Albany [7]. Clarenceux was ſent to Scot-

[6] In the Epiſt. R. S. I, 328, are letters under the great ſeal, confirming a decree againſt Dunkeld's claim of St. Andrew's, dated 21 Feb. 1522. At p. 333 occurs a letter from the chancellor to Chriſtiern of Denmark, requeſting him to ſupport the authority of James at Rome, againſt the pretenſions of Dunkeld to the primacy. It is dated 8th April; but the dates are ſometimes erroneous; and it is poſſible that even then the death of Dunkeld, amid the extenſive fatality of a peſtilence, might not be known in Scotland: for from the ceſſation of his letters after January, there is additional reaſon to believe that his life extended not beyond Feb. or March, though the laſt editor of his Virgil, proleg. p. 13, incline to fix his death to April.

Gawin Douglas left one natural daughter, maternal anceſtor of the houſe of Sempil of Foulwood. Hume's Dougl. II, 28.

[7] O. Margaret to Henry, 11 Feb. 1522. B. I, 166.

land;

land; but he bore letters of anger, and not of conciliation. 1522
Henry wrote to the queen, in the moſt ſevere terms of reproach for her imprudent conduct, political and perſonal: to Albany he averred his intentions of driving him from Scotland, and refuſed to make any further truce while he remained there; at the ſame time accuſing him for his arrival, in contradiction to the oath of the French king, who ſtill declared that Albany had ſailed without his knowledge; and for the deteſtable adviſing of his ſiſter to a divorce for ſome iniquitous purpoſe [9]. The Engliſh monarch alſo addreſſed the parliament of Scotland, remonſtrating againſt the regent, and declaring war if he were not ſtripped of his power: but the three eſtates in 11 Feb.
their anſwer repell the charges with ſpirit, aſſuring Henry that Albany being already married to a lady of large domains, he could have no perſonal view in favouring the queen's deſire of a divorce from Angus; and they conclude with preferring war to a peace purchaſed with ignominy [1]. The regent, according to Leſley, anſwered the herald's demand with much force in open parliament [2]: but, as he ſpoke no language but the French, an interpreter muſt have mediated in the explanation of his intentions to the audience. He informed Clarenceux, in private, that he preferred his French poſſeſſions to the crown of Scotland; that he was ſurprized that Wolſey ſhould accuſe him of ſuch intercourſe with the queen as only occurs with a wife or a concubine; and that he had no intention of marrying her, as his preſent wife was more than ſufficient [3]. Margaret, in a letter to her brother, reproves the harſhneſs of his correſpondence, in which he accuſed her of profligate love for Albany, and of a deſign to wed him; ſhe blames Wolſey for

[9] Ibid. [9] C. Henry to Albany, B. VI, 220. [1] Rymer, XIII, 761.
[2] Leſl. 398. Albany might be magnanimous in oratory.
[3] O. Clarenceux to Wolſey, 15 Feb. B. II, 166.

his

1522 his ſpeech in open council, that ſhe loved the regent to her diſhonour; and ſhe endeavours to fling diſcredit on Dunkeld[4]. Dacre ſoon after, by Wolſey's deſire, ſent a ſtrong memorial to the queen againſt her conduct, of which his knowledge might, from proximity, ſeem more authentic[5]. She wrote an anſwer in ſix large pages, with her own hand, defending herſelf againſt every charge[6]. Her chief replies are, that at the laſt truce no mention was made of her intereſts; that ſhe was neglected by Henry and by Dacre, while Angus uſurped her houſes and revenue, and ſhe only received from England ſplendid profeſſions: that, had not Albany aſſiſted her, ſhe muſt have ſold her jewels and plate; and, ſays the queen, "I muſt bear good mind, where I find good deed . . . I muſt pleaſe this realm, ſince I have my living here; and have few friends, except my own good behaviour." She denies that ſhe went to Linlithgow privately, as the peers knew her departure, and ſir James Hamilton was but one of many in her train: to the charge of her amorous intercourſe with Albany ſhe modeſtly anſwers, and imputes the ſcandal to Dunkeld: the propoſal of her reſuming Angus, her huſband, ſhe firmly rejects, obſerving that ſhe had married him in oppoſition to the national will, and had thereby loſt the tutorage of her ſon, the caſtle of Stirling, and the regency, while the return ſhe met was extreme unkindneſs; he uſurped her revenues; and ſhe adds, "above all things, he ſpoke openly diſhonour of me[7]:" ſince therefore ſhe wedded him ſolely by her own will, no menaces ſhall induce her to reconciliation.

The truce had expired on the ſecond day of February; and both countries prepared for war, to be commenced when the

[4] O. Margaret to Henry, 11 Feb. B. I, 166.
[5] C. B. VI, 230. [6] O. B. VI, 232.
[7] "And, abof all thyng, he ſpake opynly dyſhonor of me."

returning

returning ſpring permitted military operations [8]. Angus, diſ- 1522
guſted with his dubious reſidence on the Engliſh frontiers, had recourſe to the queen's mediation with Albany, gained perhaps by his promiſe to conſent to a divorce: and the regent pardoned him, on condition that he ſhould exile himſelf to France [9]. He accordingly returned to Scotland, whence he 12 Feb.
paſſed to France for two years; and returned ſo much improved in general inſtruction, and political ſkill, that he was enabled to ſeize the reins of government, and long retain them, againſt all the arts and efforts of the queen, the fallen regent, and ſtrong factions.

Some reluctance to proceed to hoſtilities ſtill prevailed in both countries, and fluctuating negotiations were carried on for a prolongation of the truce. Henry was not enabled by his finances to muſter an army againſt Scotland; but to evince his enmity to Albany he ſent a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, which 7 April
ſeized ſeveral Scotiſh veſſels near Inchkeith, and ravaged the maritime towns and villages. The Engliſh however ſoon en-

[8] A curious memoir of the Dacres, on the ſtate of Norham caſtle, dated 7 Feb. 1522, occurs in Cal. B. VI, 216, preſenting a ſingular detail on the œconomy of an antient fortreſs. The inner ward is repreſented as impregnable. The proviſions are, 3 great vats of ſalt eels, 44 kine, 3 hogſheads of ſalted ſalmon, 40 quarters of grain, beſides many cows and 400 ſheep lying under the caſtle walls nightly. But a great number of the arrows wanted feathers, and a good *fletcher* was required.

[9] Leſley, 397. From an original letter, Dacre to Wolſey, 18 Feb. 1522, Cal. B. II, 280, it appears that Angus clandeſtinely paſſed from the Engliſh borders to Scotland on the 12th Feb. and that it was ſaid he was to be ſent to France. Though Leſley ſays Sir George Douglas was exiled with his brother, there is reaſon to infer the contrary, for he was in Scotland in Sept. 1523, O. Surrey to Wolſey, B. VI, 317: and that hiſtorian alſo errs in ſuppoſing that Angus remained only one year in France, whereas he did not return till July 1524, as is evident from many original letters to be quoted at that epoch.

1522 countered ſo firm an oppoſition, that they returned home with little advantage or glory [1].

The emperor Charles V having viſited Henry VIII in Eng-
May land, an alliance was concluded between them againſt France: and the Engliſh monarch ſent a herald to defy Francis; and ſoon after took an active ſhare in the war, though his profuſion had ſo much diminiſhed his funds, that he was hardly able to ſupport an army. Margaret, who was as inconſtant in her affections as her brother Henry, now began to waver in her attachment towards Albany [2], whoſe French ſupplies were conſiderably drained; and her natural love of her country induced her to maintain a regular correſpondence with Dacre, who by every art and promiſe perſuaded her to prefer the Engliſh cauſe. By ſpies, and ſecret meſſengers, ſhe informed the Engliſh warden of every important ſtep taken by the regent; who it muſt be confeſſed, at the ſame time, acted with remarkable deficiency of ſkill or precaution. Albany, who received all his chief inſtructions, particularly thoſe of war or peace with England, from the French cabinet, as appears from many papers yet extant, ſeems at length to have been inſtigated to invade England, in order if poſſible to prevent Henry from ſending an army to the continent. The Engliſh monarch, informed of this intention,
30 July iſſued a commiſſion of lieutenant general, and admiral, againſt
14 Aug. the Scots to the earl of Shrewſbury [3]: and ſoon after an order was given for proclamations of array, through the northern counties, as intelligence had been received that the Scots intended to invade England in the beginning of September [4].

[1] Leſl. 398. Holinſhed, III, p. 1519, ſeems to date this event in 1523.

[2] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 15 June, B. I, 19: but Dacre cannot as yet refrain from mentioning "her lewd demeanour."

[3] Rymer, XIII, 772. [4] Ibid. 773.

Yet

Yet it appears that various incurſions, and one great inroad, 1522
had been previouſly made by the Engliſh: and a part of Kelſo fell a prey to the flames of the invaders [5].

Meanwhile a parliament had met at Edinburgh, on the eighteenth of July [6], where it was concluded, by the deſire of the regent and the queen, that the king, now in his eleventh year, ſhould be removed to Stirling caſtle; and the earl of Ruthven and lord Borthwick being deprived of their charge, lord Erſkine was left ſole keeper of the ſovereign's perſon. John lord Somerville was baniſhed for his attachment to Angus:

[5] Leſl. 399. Hall, 14 H 8. The latter writer is right in naming Dacre as the leader, but errs in adding lord Roſs, as the laſt of that title died in 1508. Dugd. Bar. In Cal. B. VI, 131—134, appears a correſpondence between Thomas Hay the ſecretary and Dacre, beginning the 23d of June, wherein Shrewſbury is mentioned as lieutenant-general. Hay deſires that the Engliſh inroads may be forborne till the return of David Beton, the envoy ſent from Scotland to London. Dacre anſwers that there can be no truce while Albany remains in Scotland. An original letter from Sir Philip Dacre to lord Dacre, 23 July [1522], Cal. B. VI, 421, mentions that an inroad had been made into Scotland—that the Scotiſh parliament met laſt friday, and that Albany was determined to leave the country, if the ſtates did not ſupport his meaſures—that by Albany's command Arran had taken Somerville's houſe, (who was a partiſan of Angus and Home), and turned his wife out of doors, though ſhe was delivered but the day before—and it mentions the burning of Kelſo, where lord Dacre, as was rumoured, had betrayed Percy and Ogle. Albany, in his memorial of January 1523, (ſee that date,) ſpecially mentions a cruel inroad of the Engliſh, as having preceded his invaſion.

This partial conflagration of Kelſo muſt not therefore be confounded with that by Dacre in June 1523, when Albany was in France.

See in the Acts, edit. 1566, f. v. 112, the encouragements held out by Albany to the army raiſed againſt England. The parliament is of the 18th July 1522, though the acts only date from the 24th.

[6] Letter of Sir Philip Dacre juſt quoted. In this parliament, as appears from the records, George lord Home was reſtored to his honours. Redpath, 509. But the eſtates were diminiſhed, and the family is henceforth of little hiſtorical note.

1522 but the Homes, diſtruſting the regent, could not be prevailed upon to leave their fortreſſes. The national council, probably won by French gold, conſented that Albany ſhould march to invade England, on the ſecond of September [7]. Theſe proceedings being immediately conveyed to England, by the queen's letters to Dacre or by ſpies, occaſioned the above mentioned proclamations of array. Yet Margaret perſiſted in
30 Aug. endeavouring peace, and informed Dacre that ſhe was diſpoſed to liſten to any plan for that purpoſe: nor was Albany averſe, provided that the ſole object of France could be accompliſhed [8], namely her incluſion in the armiſtice; but this the Engliſh treaty with the emperor rendered impoſſible. Wolſey was enraged at this intended interruption of a Scotiſh invaſion, given to his favourite war of private pique againſt Francis; and while he affected to deſpiſe Albany's preſumption, in thus mediating between England and France, his ſpleen could not avoid branding his meaſures, and thoſe of the queen, as full of "pride and preſumption, mixed with craft and double dealing, after the Scotiſh manner [9];" a reflection truly ludicrous, when it is conſidered that neither was a native of Scotland.
31 Aug. In his anſwer to Margaret [1], Dacre ſays he has no power to conclude peace; but, knowing that Henry's inclinations were to avoid war if poſſible, he engages, if the queen to her laſting honour would mediate, to ſtop the Engliſh army: at the ſame time he replied to her credence by a ſecret letter [2], (which he

[7] O. Sir P. Dacre to Dacre, and Dacre to Wolſey, 8 Aug. 1522, B. VI, 419. Dacre obſerves that Ruthven, Borthwick, and Erſkine, had been appointed by the *firſt* parliament (Dec. 1521.) In 1515 the earl Marſhall, and the lords Fleming and Borthwick, were the peers nominated.

[8] O. Margaret to Dacre, Edinburgh, 30 Aug. B. VII, 144.

[9] C. Wolſey to Dacre, no date, B. VI, 128.

[1] C. B. VII, 145. [2] C. ibid.

requeſts

requeſts may be inſtantly burnt, as if ſhewn his ruin would 1522
follow,) that, if James be lodged in ſecure hands, Henry would
not inſiſt on Albany's leaving Scotland, but would regard his
preſence no more than that of any other ſubject prince. Dacre
likewiſe ſent articles of pacification, to ſhew to Albany; who 3 Sept.
anſwered [3] that nothing but a truce could now be undertaken,
the army being aſſembled; but that a more laſting treaty might
be deliberated, by embaſſadors to be ſent to England, in virtue
of a ſafe conduct now at Berwick for that purpoſe: that he
deſired peace, and would continue in that diſpoſition, even
though the ſuccours which he expected from France ſhould
arrive, but that the allies muſt in all events be comprehended.
The queen, on the ſame day, wrote to Dacre [4], ſhewing ſome
diſtruſt of his ſincerity, as he denied his expreſs power to treat,
while Sir Antony Ughtred captain of Berwick ſaid he had;
and ſhe ſent John Cantally [5], a confidential ſervant, to know
his real intentions. Dacre replied that he muſt inſiſt upon a 6 Sept.
ſpecial article for the ſecurity of James; and deſired a reſpite
of twelve days, that Henry's approbation of the articles might
be obtained [6].

This delay was not granted; and the chief articles of treaty
on both ſides being rejected, for the Engliſh the ſecurity of
James from Albany's power, for the Scots the incluſion of
France, the regent advanced his army to the Engliſh frontiers;
and on the ninth of September it encamped at Annan [7]. This
army was one of the moſt numerous, and beſt appointed, that
Scotland had ever ſet forth: according to repeated diſpatches
of Wolſey and Dacre, it conſiſted of not leſs than eighty thou-

[3] C. B. VII, 152. [4] O. ibid. 146.

[5] A clergyman, as appears, and afterwards archdeacon of St. Andrew's. See 1524, 1525, notes. [6] C. Cal. B. VII, 148.

[7] O. Albany to Dacre, Annan, 9 Sept. 1522, B. VII, 138.

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1522 ſand men, with forty-five large pieces of braſs artillery, one thouſand hagbuts mounted upon treſtles, and a prodigious number of hand-guns: it was ſupplied with proviſions even to ſuperfluity [8]. A general terror pervaded the north of England; the Engliſh forces were warring in France; and Wolſey, in a letter to Henry [9], obſerves that the capture of Carliſle, and the deſtruction of at leaſt all Cumberland, ſeemed inevitable, as not above ſixteen thouſand men could have been there arrayed. The Engliſh lieutenant-general, the earl of Shrewſbury, in a diſpatch to Henry, dated the eighth of September [1], ſhews a complete want of preparation; he mentions that, upon advice from Dacre that the Scots intended to aſſail the weſtern marches, he had ordered the array to be in readineſs, but that it exceeded not twenty thouſand, and as no artillery nor money was ſent even that number could not aſſemble: it being ſurmized that artillery could not paſs Stanmore to Carliſle, he intended to invade Scotland on the eaſt, and extend his ravages till he met Albany returning by the weſtern marches: but he eagerly deſires a remittance of money, without which nothing, as he obſerves, could be done. This want of preparation probably was the cauſe that Shrewſbury was, in the enſuing ſpring, deprived of his commiſſion, which was transferred to Surrey, a far more able general: but Wolſey the miniſter was unpardonable; and ſhewed in this, and the various ignoble incidents of Henry's reign, the talents of a pedant in long declamatory letters, while neither in them, nor in his conduct, appears one ſpark of real ability. Yet the cardinal was fortunately oppoſed to Albany; who on this

[8] C. Wolſey to Henry, B. VI, 242. [9] Ibid.

[1] O. B. III, 155. And ſee a letter of Sir Thomas More to Wolſey, conveying Henry's commands on the occaſion, 14 Sept. B. I, 303. Yet Shrewſbury's bad health, VI, 242, was an excuſe for his defective conduct.

occaſion

occaſion betrayed an imbecility beyond example or belief, and 1522
juſtly received from Wolſey the liberal appellations of coward and fool[2], when, upon one interview with Dacre, he conſented to diſmiſs this grand and ſpirited army, and to ſacrifice an occaſion never to be recalled. Nor did he thereby ſecure any terms to France, which had enabled him to raiſe and provide his large array, nor even to Scotland, or himſelf; but was left to bewail, in complete confuſion and anguiſh, an unhappy day of an infatuation only known to the weakeſt of men.

The narration of the Scotiſh hiſtorians, concerning diſſenſions in his army, is ſomewhat ſhaken by the abſolute ſilence of the numerous contemporary diſpatches[3]; not to mention his previous puſillanimous correſpondence with Dacre. The Engliſh party was annihilated by the abſence of Angus: the queen, as ſhe confeſſes, had no influence: the nobles, ſeduced by French gold, were warmly attached to the regent, and the war: the army's affection was ſecured, not only by exuberance of proviſions and warlike ammunition, and perhaps ſupplies of money, but by conceſſions of freedom from ward to the ſons and daughters of the ſlain, and a gift for five years of ſuch poſſeſſions as were only for life[4]. The ſingular negotiation with Dacre, which terminated this inglorious expedition, remains to be narrated; and as almoſt every original ſcrap of paper, which paſſed on the ſubject between him and Albany,

[2] C. Wolſey to Henry, B. VI, 242.

[3] Thoſe written on the inſtant are only meant; for in the inſtructions to Clarenceux, 12 Nov. 1522, B. VI, 254, it is obſerved that the Scotiſh lords told Dacre at Salom, "that for no love, favour, deſire, or fair promiſes, of the French king, they would in any wiſe attempt war againſt England, nor invade the ſame, ſo they might be ſure to have peace of Henry." Yet this is equivocal, as they ſupported Albany's regency, the ſole ground of the war.

[4] Leſl. 400.

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1522 is extant, the account is capable of extreme accuracy, and even minuteneſs.

Dacre had continued the above mentioned epiſtolary intercourſe with the queen, who remained at Edinburgh, and even with Albany on his march. On the ſeventh of September he
7 Sept. ſent to the latter the ſafe conduct for an envoy[5]: and Cantally, the queen's ſervant, was diſpatched by Albany to Dacre on the eighth, with a ſtern letter[6], accuſing the Engliſh warden of diſſimulation; of retaining Carrick herald, though ſent for peace; and of ſending one of his ſervants into the midſt of the Scotiſh camp, who deſerved death as he had no badge of truce; but the regent adds that, if Dacre be ſo deſirous of peace, he has only to ſend his powers and articles by the bearer. Dacre however would not advance from Carliſle to the river Eſk, to meet Cantally, as the latter propoſed, the Scotiſh army being near, but ſent him a ſafe conduct to Carliſle[7]: on which he returned to conſult Albany, who remitted him from Annan, on the ninth, with a letter[8], promiſing that if Dacre ſent him back with a favourable anſwer, for the queen's honour, the regent would liſten, and pardon the warden's faults, "though his honour was fled." Dacre deſiring diſpatches in the Scotiſh language, as he did not underſtand French[9], Cantally again went to the Scotiſh camp, and returned, when the actual treaty commenced. Dacre, by his letter from Carliſle, dated on the ninth of September at eleven o'clock at night[1], anſwers the charges of Albany thus; that the Carrick herald had opened Engliſh letters ſent to Berwick, and was ſeized, but ſoon ſet at liberty; that Dacre's ſervant

[5] B. VII, 137. [6] Ibid. 138.
[7] O. Dacre to Cantally, 8 Sept. ib. 137. Cantally to Dacre, 151.
[8] VII, 138. [9] Ibid. 139. [1] Ibid. 140.

was

was no ſpy, but carried the ſafe conduct ſent by Henry at his 1522
ſiſter's deſire, and bore, if not a badge of truce, the cogniſance of St. George, and Dacre's badge on his jacket, both before and behind: to Albany's angry attack on his character he makes no reply; but ſeeing the regent's deſire of a month's truce, that embaſſadors might be ſent to England for peace, he proceeds to ſtate that he has no commiſſion to that effect, yet he adds, "I am content to ſtop my ſovereign lord's army, now raiſing and approaching the borders, and grant you your deſire of one month's abſtinence." He concludes with promiſing, as warden, that all inroads ſhall be ſtopped; and that he ſhall ſend, on ſafe conduct, Sir Chriſtopher Dacre, his brother, as an hoſtage for the performance of the terms. Albany, in return, on the tenth, demanded a perſonal conference; and Dacre conſenting to meet at ſeven in the enſuing morning, the regent, in a letter [2] dated Salom chapel 10 Sept.
at nine o'clock in the night, tranſmits a ſafe conduct, from ſunriſe till ſunſet in the following day, while lord Maxwell was to be ſent as an hoſtage for the warden's ſafety. The 11 Sept.
meeting accordingly took place: and the inſtrument of truce is of the following purport [3]. It bears that, at the deſire of the queen, and "alſo" [4] at the deſire of Albany, Dacre had come to the chapel of Salom; yet this being a mere preamble, the tenor of the agreement runs in the name of Albany, with the advice of the lords of the council, and Dacre: the

[2] B. VII, 141. Salom, or Solom, chapel, appears to have been near Gretna, now the ſcene of treaties of a different deſcription. It was near Solam moſs, the old name of Solway-moſs, in Pont's maps.

[3] Ibid. 142.

[4] This *disjunctive connective* is emphatic. Our hiſtorians abſurdly ſuppoſe that the queen was with the army: ſhe remained at Edinburgh; and the truce was negotiated, and ſigned, ſolely by Albany and Dacre.

1522 latter, as warden, grants a truce upon all the borders, for one month; all hoſtilities are to ceaſe, and Dacre is to ſtop the advance of the Engliſh army, and to yield his brother Sir Chriſtopher Dacre as an hoſtage to that effect: the queen is to be deſired to intercede with Henry for another month's abſtinence, that the embaſſadors, to be ſent from Scotland on the ſafe conduct tranſmitted, may prepare for their journey. By a ſeparate minute, ſigned at the ſame time [5], Albany engages immediately to diſmiſs his army; which was done accordingly.

Such was this noted tranſaction [6], compared to which the "foul raid" of Robert duke of Albany, in the reign of James I, was glorious. After immenſe preparation and expence, no purpoſe was effected, which might not have been obtained previouſly to the array. The regent had only ſhewn, in a grand theatre, that he was the heir of that puſillanimity common to his predeceſſors in the title of Albany. Yet the ſhades of thoſe ſlain at Flodden perhaps fluttered around him, and his army, and ſpread a panic againſt any engagement on Engliſh ground. It appears from all the writings, that Dacre uſed the terror of an approaching hoſt to daunt the regent; and from repeated examples in this reign of James V, it is evident that the Scotiſh leaders were averſe to enter England; and, following the advice of Robert I, eſteemed a defenſive war ſafeſt, and moſt effectual.

Soon after his return to Edinburgh, the regent diſpatched
27 Sept. Jehan de Barboun, as his envoy to Henry and Wolſey, with inſtructions [7] to deſire a truce till midſummer next year, and

[5] B. VII, 150.

[6] Wolſey, in a letter to Henry, B. VI, 242, with his accuſtomed pedantry calls it *Operatio Dextræ Eccelſi*; he ſpeaks of Albany's folly and cowardice, and ſays that his ſole motive was mere fear, *ubi non erat timor*.

[7] C. B. VI, 269.

that

that France might be comprehended: but the laſt article being abſolutely refuſed, he was ordered by Albany to return with all ſpeed [8]. During this time the queen continued her mediation with Dacre. Shrewſbury was ſick, and the approaching winter forbade an invaſion of Scotland; which was alſo eſteemed unneceſſary, as the Scotiſh peers were believed to be inclined to peace, and willing to give hoſtages for the ſafety of James, who was to be committed to the keeping of ſome independent lords, provided that Albany were allowed to remain in Scotland; an article not much oppoſed by the Engliſh miniſter, as, by ſowing diviſion, he hoped ſoon to force the regent to reſign [9]. 1522. 17 Oct.

Albany, ſtung with the diſgraceful conſequences of his late infatuation, reſolved to ſail to France, in order to explain and palliate his conduct, to repreſent the indiſpoſition of the Scots to the war; and to ſolicit ſupplies of money and warlike ſtores, and eſpecially ſome troops who might, by their example, ſtimulate the Scots to exertion. He accordingly embarked at Dunbarton, on the twenty-fifth of October, on a galley with oars, attended only by another veſſel of the ſame deſcription; having appointed the chancellor, Huntley, Argyle, Arran, and Gouzolles, a French officer, as a council of regency, under oath to attempt nothing againſt his own authority [1]. He engaged, on pain of loſing his regency, to return before Aſſumption day, or the fifteenth of Auguſt, in the following year [2]. To lord Erſkine, a peer of ſimple character, was joined a foreigner 25 Oct.

[8] C. Albany to Barboun, 17 Oct. ibid. 274.

[9] C. Wolſey to Henry, B. VI, 242.

[1] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 31 Oct. 1522, B. II, 272. This letter dates the departure of Albany *about* the 24th Oct. Buch. XIV, 16, gives the poſitive date of the 25th. The gallies with oars are in the original ſtyled *row galleys*.

[2] Dacre to Wolſey, juſt quoted.

1522 Gouzolles denominated captain of Milan, but a ſpecial adherent of Albany, who was to ſhare the cuſtody of the young king, and, with a guard of thirty-three Frenchmen, was alſo to attend the queen [3]. Theſe offices, aſſigned to a foreigner, only ſhew that experience had not taught Albany to avoid the groſſeſt imprudence.

The Engliſh court, learning the departure of Albany, diſpatched Benolt, the Clarenceux herald, to examine, with his
12 Nov. uſual ability, the ſtate of Scotland. His inſtructions [4] bore that he was to applaud the queen, in Henry's name, for the truce, to which he had only conſented by her mediation; to diſcover if Margaret and the peers inclined to war or peace; and to adviſe them as they muſt now ſee, from Albany's abrupt departure, that he had only been ſent from France to diſturb the public tranquillity, to embrace "the profitable advice of England, and forſake the perilous enchantments of France:" he was to repreſent that Henry regarded the war as unnatural, the Scotiſh king being a minor and his nephew; that, while France was only liberal of promiſes, a peace would open to Scotland the advantages of commerce with England, and her allies: and the herald was to offer a truce till the end of February, provided that the Scotiſh peers would promiſe to ſend an embaſſy for peace. Wolſey alſo inſtructed Clarenceux loudly to reprobate the haughty expreſſions uſed by Albany to Henry, in order as appears to excite the hatred of the Scots againſt the regent's pride; and the cardinal even ſketched the

[3] Ibid. Though Dacre in this letter, from imperfect information, ſeem to mention Gouzolles and the captain of Milan as diſtinct perſons, it appears from the correſpondence of Nov. 1523, B. I, 279, 309, &c. that the latter was only a deſignation of the former. Concerning him no extraneous information has occurred.

[4] Cal. B. VI, 254. See alſo Remembrances for Clarenceux, Wolſey's hand, VI, 265.

ſpeech,

ſpeech, which the herald was to pronounce to the Scotiſh peers [5]. 1522

Albany, being informed of the arrival and reſidence of the Engliſh herald in Scotland, and dreading the influence which he might exert againſt his power and deſigns, ſent George Hay to Wolſey, with inſtructions [6] dated at Vic, probably the town of that name in his wife's county of Auvergne. The regent repreſented that he had always inclined to peace, and only had recourſe to arms after a cruel invaſion of Scotland, and even then conſented to a truce, though England was quite unprepared: that the propoſals of Henry ought not to have been ſent to the Scotiſh peers, but to him, as regent, who would never conſent that Scotland ſhould abandon France, even upon the terms offered by Henry; which, as reported to him, were that, on condition of this dereliction, of a truce of ſixteen years with England, and the exile of Albany, Berwick and all the lands claimable by Scotland ſhould be rendered; and a marriage appointed between James and Mary the daughter of the Engliſh king; while, on refuſal, cruel and laſting war was threatened. The regent further ſtated that the only way to peace was to addreſs him; that, though forced to viſit France on account of his wife's illneſs, he had left full powers to treat; that he could not repreſs his rage, on learning that England endeavoured to intimidate the Scots in his abſence, and that, if war were unavoidable, their allies would defend them, though peace were to be wiſhed for the good of chriſtendom aſſailed by the infidels; laſtly he deſires a quick and immediate anſwer, with ſtrict ſecrecy, as his preſent reſidence might render the intercourſe ſuſpicious, though it was only known to the papal legate in France, the abbot of Glenluce, and the 1523 10 Jan.

[5] Remembrances, ibid.

[6] O. Cal. B. VI, 240.

bearer.

1523 bearer. The council of regency, probably inſtructed by Al-
21 Jan. bany, gave an anſwer to Clarenceux, ſigned by Thomas Hay their ſecretary [7], bearing in vague terms that the treaty of Salom had been fulfilled on their part; and deſiring complete information of the terms offered by England, if the French alliance were abandoned. No ſerious treaty was intended, their ſole object being to procraſtinate: and the liberal offers mentioned by Albany, not appearing in any inſtructions to Clarenceux which have reached us, ſeem to have been oral promiſes, meant to amuſe and decoy.

Henry, finding the negotiation very precarious, iſſued a
26 Feb. commiſſion of lieutenant-general againſt the Scots to Thomas Howard earl of Surrey [8], ſon of the victor at Flodden now duke of Norfolk, and of a name terrible to Scotland. Over the weſtern frontiers Dacre preſided with his uſual ability; while the marquis of Dorſet was appointed warden of the eaſtern marches. Surrey was empowered not only to manage war, but to extend the negotiations, as long as any hope of ſucceſs remained.

Nevertheleſs ſome incurſions were made by the Engliſh; and one, in particular, of conſiderable importance, into the
2 April Merſe and Tividale. Buchanan informs us that Surrey, at the head of ten thouſand men, ravaged theſe provinces, with a deſtruction which equally levelled the turreted caſtle of the baron, and the ſtraw-built hut of the labourer [9].

On his return to Berwick Surrey ſent to Wolſey an account of his expedition by a meſſenger, whom he alſo charged with

[7] Cal. B. VIII, 96. [8] Rymer, XIII, 781.

[9] Buch. XIV, 17. Hall, f. 106, fixes the date of this invaſion to the day before good-friday, which in 1523 was the 3d of April. He ſays Dorſet and others led the expedition, by Surrey's command: and that 4000 cattle were ſeized by the Engliſh.

inſtructions

inſtructions for the cardinal and council. The meſſenger is 1523
deſired to narrate every circumſtance of the late inroad into Tividale, to ſhew the bad ſtate of the cavalry, and the want of forage in Northumberland, the deficiency of carriages for proviſions, and of horſes to draw the artillery. If an important invaſion be intended, the Engliſh general deſires that four thouſand Germans be demanded from their ally the emperor, ſo that inſtead of thirty thouſand Engliſh, he may have but twenty two thouſand, with four thouſand Germans to be ſhipped from Flanders to Berwick; for, ſhould Albany bring any foreign power, an invaſion of Scotland muſt be attended with a battle, and the foreign pikes could only be encountered by pikes; while the Engliſh array, not accuſtomed to the order of battle, might learn from the example of the Germans [1].

The inroads were mutually continued for ſome months. Dacre again led his bands againſt Kelſo; and gave to the June
flames what remains of that unfortunate town his devaſtation of the former year had ſpared. Even the abbey was injured; and many villages beyond Kelſo were levelled with the ground: while eight hundred French, ſent by Albany, remained in a daſtardly ſecurity at Edinburgh [2]. In an incurſion from Berwick, two other villages were deſtroyed: and lord Leonard Gray, advancing from Werk, defeated a party of the Scots by ambuſcade [3].

Yet

[1] O. Inſtructions Surrey to Nicholas Hervey, B. VI, 238.

[2] C. Dacre to Surrey, 3 July, B. VI, 324.

[3] O. Surrey to Wolſey, York 3 July, ibid. 323. Surrey ſays that Scotland was formerly only *japed* (ſcolded), but now puniſhed: he requires eight laſts of gunpowder: he demands more ſhips, as captain Coo was to put to ſea on monday: and he mentions ſome Danes taken in the Janet of Pirwyn (a Scotiſh veſſel?)—Chriſtiern, the depoſed king of Denmark, viſited England in June this year. Herbert's Henry VIII, p. 140.

The

1523 Aug. Yet the negotiations, conducted by the queen and Surrey, became more and more important in their progreſs. It was propoſed to place the young king ſolemnly on the throne, and to terminate the regency by proclaiming his actual exerciſe of power; while the queen, with a choſen council, ſhould manage the public affairs. This flattering propoſal induced Margaret to abandon the French intereſt, which ſhe had never cordially embraced; and being treated with great attention by her brother, ſince the truce procured by her mediation, ſhe again warmly attached herſelf to the Engliſh cauſe, which diſplayed
24 Aug. to her ſuch ſuperior advantages. She regrets, in a letter to Surrey [4], the blindneſs of the peers, who were enſlaved to Albany by fear, by gifts, and expectations of beneſices and French gold; but ſhe doubts not their acceſſion to her plan, if ſupported by Henry: her ſon ſhe repreſents as a boy of generous affections, and eminent ability for his age [5]: ſhe wiſhes to be free, and if Surrey cannot aſſiſt her ſhe begs a reception in England: ſhe hates the French, and Albany who for three months paſt has withdrawn her penſion, ſo that ſhe is in extreme poverty, and muſt ſell her plate, if no ſupply be ſent.
26 Aug. Surrey, in his anſwer [6], promiſed every ſupport, if the lords would agree to erect the throne of James; and as a Scotiſh parliament was ſpeedily to meet, its determination was awaited. Henry, impatient of the delay, ſent to Surrey mandates for many of the northern lords and gentlemen to join him, in an expedition againſt Jedburgh; but the general could not ac-

The ravages of Scotland were ſuch that the frontiers were left a mere deſert, and their inhabitants forced to beg bread in England. Wolſey's letter of 31 Aug, 1523, in Fiddes, App. p. 137.

[4] C. Cal. B. II, 29.

[5] There is not, ſays the queen, in the world a wiſer child, or a better hearted, or a more able. Surrey obſerves to Wolſey, (12 Sept. 1523, B. VI, 318,) that James "ſpeaks *ſure* for ſo young a thing."

[6] C. Cal. B. II, 31.

compliſh

compliſh that order for ſome time, as he informs Wolſey [7], 1523
having neither powder, ſhot, nor carts; and the light of the 27 Aug.
moon, now four days in the wane, would not ſuffice for an army to remain two or three nights in Scotland, till twenty days thereafter; when likewiſe the enemy's wheat, rye, and barley would be inned, and could be conſumed at once; not to mention his expectation of the meeting of a Scotiſh parliament, which might render the expedition unneceſſary. Meanwhile the negotiation proceeded, but with little hope of ſucceſs; for Surrey ſoon after communicated to the cardinal [8] his 12 Sept.
intention of an invaſion, and even of laying waſte the Scotiſh border to the breadth of twelve miles, and forming ſuch an arrangement that it ſhould ever remain deſert; as though the Scotiſh merchants and commons execrated Albany and his faction, and warmly deſired peace with England, the peers were ſo much attached to him by his gifts, that their concurrence with the Engliſh plan could not be expected. The 13 Sep.
queen nevertheleſs preſſed the affair [9], knowing the danger if it were not effected before the arrival of Albany, now daily expected: ſhe deſires that every effort be exerted to detach the

[7] O. ibid. 27. [8] O. B. VI, 318.

[9] O. Margaret to Surrey, B. II, 228.

The letters publiſhed at the end of Hearne's Otterbourne, extend from Sept. 1523 to July 1524: but are of no importance, when compared with thoſe in manuſcript.

Guthrie has alſo a few extracts from original letters of theſe memorable years, 1523 and 1524, Vol. V, 63—66, 68, 73. They are taken from Fiddes's Life of Wolſey, 1724, folio, who drew them from the tranſcripts made by Mr. Maſters, from thoſe in the Cotton and other libraries. Maſters aſſiſted lord Herbert, in compiling materials for his well authenticated life of Henry VIII: and his collection is preſerved in the library of Jeſus College, Oxford. Cat. MS. Angl. N° 2096—2099.

The opulence of original correſpondence, for theſe two years, ſurprizes, and embarraſſes, an hiſtorian.

1523 chancellor from the regent, and to gain him, Gawin Dunbar biſhop of Aberdeen, lord regiſter and preceptor to the king, and the earl of Argyle, they being the moſt able and powerful,
14 Sept. and the will of the others deſerving no conſideration. Surrey declared to Wolſey [1] his intention to invade Scotland within eight days; and, after deſtroying Jedburgh and Tividale, to advance to Home caſtle, and thence into the Merſe to ravage and ruin the forts, if the proviſion for the army will ſuffice ſo long: but he deſires to know if the latter progreſs be adviſeable, when perhaps the Homes, and Sir George Douglas, (who had been permitted to remain in Scotland, while his brothers, Angus and William, were exiled,) might accede to the Engliſh cauſe: he alſo requeſts inſtructions, in caſe James went to Edinburgh, and aſſumed the ſceptre, when the queen might entreat him not to injure her ſon's dominions. Sir Thomas More remitted Henry's orders to Wolſey [2], to be forwarded to Surrey, that the Homes and Douglas might be received on giving hoſtages; on the other matters much is left to his diſcretion, but it is deſired that Bourbon's declaration againſt the French king be ſent to the queen, in order to evince the ruinous condition of France. It is curious to obſerve Wolſey, on the day after Albany's arrival had quaſhed the whole ſcheme, writing to Surrey [3] that Albany would never dare to repair to Scotland; and offering every aſſiſtance and reward to the queen and the lords, and a reception in England to the former if ſhe
19 Sep. failed. Meantime the queen informed Surrey [4] of her fixed deſign to proceed to Edinburgh with her ſon, in expectation that, upon his open aſſumption of the power, a ſufficient party

[1] O. B. VI, 317.
[2] O. Sir Thomas More to Wolſey, 22 Sept. 1523, Cal. B. VI, 439.
[3] O. Wolſey to Surrey, 25 Sept. 1523, B. VI, 455.
[4] C. B. VI, 293.

would

would appear to ſupport their king; though the Scotiſh peers derided Surrey's invaſion, as only an injury to the borders, which they could eaſily retaliate, "for the lords regard not the diſaſters of the poor, but laugh at them:" ſhe adviſes Surrey to ſecure the authority of James, by advancing to Edinburgh: and at the ſame time betrays ſuch deſpair of ſucceſs as to expreſs the warmeſt wiſhes of leaving Scotland, even by ſtealth. Surrey ſaw this letter in its true light, and ſent it to the cardinal [5] obſerving that the queen had no credit with the lords, and only deſired Surrey's aid in eſcaping from Scotland before Albany came, his arrival being hourly expected; that it was impoſſible, through the want of carriages for proviſion, to advance to Edinburgh, though he might perhaps to Melroſe, if no great power oppoſed; for, though joined by Dacre and his three thouſand, his army only amounted to nine thouſand. But he declares his intention of invading Scotland on the morrow, and advancing towards Jedburgh. 1523 21 Sep.

This important negotiation is thus minutely ſtated, becauſe unknown to former writers, who only narrate its ſucceſs after Albany's departure, in the following year. But a more active ſcene now opens, in Surrey's invaſion of Scotland, the arrival of Albany, and his ſecond diſgraceful expedition againſt England.

Surrey's detail of his expedition, conveyed in a diſpatch to Wolſey [6], ſhall be exactly followed in the account of this event. *The Engliſh advanced from Berwick to Jedburgh, amid conſtant ſkirmiſhes with the Scots;* "I aſſure your grace," ſays *Surrey to the cardinal,* "that I found the Scots at this time the boldeſt men, and the moſt ardent, that ever I beheld of

[5] O. Surrey to Wolſey, 21 Sept. B. VI, 292.

[6] O. Same to ſame, 27 Sept. B. II, 24, a long and important letter.

1523 any nation[7];" their conflicts were perpetual, though they amounted only to about fifteen hundred, haſtily gathered by the border chieftains, againſt an army of nine thouſand, almoſt entirely cavalry; and were forty thouſand ſuch valiant men aſſembled, proceeds the Engliſh general, dreadful would be the encounter. But all their efforts could not prevent the pillage of Tividale, and the conflagration of the fair town of Jedburgh, containing at that time twice as many houſes as Berwick, many of them of beautiful architecture; it was defended by ſix ſtrong towers, and was capable of receiving a garriſon of one thouſand cavalry. Sir William Bulmer and Sir Thomas Tempeſt conducted the ſtrong detachment, which
24 Sept. captured the town, and gave it completely to the flames, ſo that a reedification was neceſſary before it could be inhabited. But this achievement was followed by an unexpected and ſtrange diſaſter, on the ſide of the Engliſh. Their camp was ſurrounded with the proviſion waggons, and a ditch: but while Surrey was engaged in the aſſault of the abbey, which laſted till two hours after night fell, Dacre had, for ſome unknown cauſe, ſtationed his cavalry without the precinct of the camp.
25 Sep. Next day Surrey ſent Dacre to attack the caſtle of Ferniherſt, along with Sir Arthur Darcy and Sir Marmaduke Conſtable; but that hold being ſurrounded with a wood was well defended, and before it yielded, many on both ſides were ſlain and wounded. On his return Dacre reſumed his former ſtation on the outſide of the camp; and about eight o'clock, while he ſat at ſupper with Surrey, the horſes of his cavalry broke looſe; and, running around the camp, ſpread an univerſal alarm, as it was ſuppoſed the Scots were aſſaulting the entrenchments;

[7] "I aſſure your grace I found the Scotts, at this time, the boldeſt men, and the hoteſt, that ever I ſawe any nacion." The praiſe from Surrey is great, as he had often been employed on ſevere forcign ſervice.

and

and many guns, and not leſs than an hundred ſheaves of ar- 1523
rows were diſcharged at them. Of fifteen hundred horſes, thus running wild, not ſeven hundred were ſaved: about five hundred were ſhot, or wandered in divers directions; two hundred and fifty ran into Jedburgh, ſtill in flames, where they were ſeized and carried off by Scotiſh women; fifty plunged to death down a precipice. It is riſible to find Surrey an honeſt and credulous ſoldier, ſeriouſly imputing this diſaſter to dæmons. He affirms that Dacre, and all his men, beheld "ſpirits and fearful ſigns" ſix times that night; and that the whole array believe that the infernal prince was ſix times among them. It was apparently a ſtratagem of the Scots, as their women were ready to ſeize what horſes they could; nor is ſuch a ſtratagem againſt cavalry, unknown in a former period of Scotiſh hiſtory [8].

After diſpatching his envoy to Wolſey with an account of this expedition, Surrey was, on the ſame day, ſurprized with the intelligence that Albany had arrived in Scotland on the twenty fourth of September, the fatal day of Jedburgh [9].

The queen had thus arranged her above mentioned ſcheme of ſeizing the regency, on pretence of placing her ſon on the throne: the young king was to go to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as from his own will, and to chuſe a council, for many wiſhed his freedom, though none had the boldneſs to attempt it [1]; ſome peers around him enquiring what he would do with ſeveral Frenchmen, whom Albany had left, he anſwered with a ſarcaſm that he would give them to David Home's keeping [2]. But the parliament having met, Gaultier

[8] In 1377. Fordun, II, 385.
[9] O. Surrey to Wolſey, 27 Sept. B. VI, 313.
[1] O. Chriſtopher Throlkeld to Dacre, or in his abſence to Surrey, (Sept. 1523,) Cal. B. VII, 9. [2] Ibid. David Home ſlew De la Baſtie.

Malignes

1523 Malignes and Thomas Hay produced letters from Albany, deſiring that the king might remain at Stirling, as he had ſhipped in Picardy on his voyage, and De la Pole, a pretender to the Engliſh throne, was to follow him [3]. Upon which intelligence the lords commanded Erſkine to withdraw from his charge, and ſurrender the cuſtody of the king to Caſſils and Fleming, the biſhop of Galloway and the abbot of Cambuſkenneth, with a mandate that he be permitted to ride at his pleaſure, on condition that he returned to Stirling at night, a liberty eſteemed hazardous by the French embaſſador [4]. A few days after this tranſaction Albany arrived in the firth of Clyde [5], with a fleet of eighty ſeven ſmall veſſels, conducting, by the loweſt computation, four thouſand French infantry,

[3] Ibid. In a catalogue of Scotiſh writings, Harl. 4637, Vol. III, (a curious and important volume,) fol. 81, is mentioned an obligation by Richard De la Pole, duke of Suffolk, to James V, and Albany, dated 15 July 1523.

[4] Throlkeld's letter above quoted. The prioreſs of Coldſtream, and one Trotter, are named as ſpies: but who could diſdain the office, while Margaret herſelf was a continual ſpy? In her inſtructions to Sinclair, Oct. 1523, B. VI, 287, ſhe engages to advertiſe Surrey, as before, of all things good or evil, to uſe her own expreſſions.

[5] The connection of the narrative has occaſioned the omiſſion of ſome minute particulars, which ſhall be thrown into this note. Henry, underſtanding Albany's intention to return to Scotland, ſent Sir William Fitzwilliams with thirty ſix large ſhips, to watch the French ſhores; while Antony Pointz with a ſquadron cruized in the weſtern ſeas, and Sherborn in the northern. In Auguſt Fitzwilliams diſcovered twelve French ſhips, aboard of which were Gawin Dunbar archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and other perſons of rank: theſe veſſels being purſued returned to France, and two were loſt. Albany upon this ordered his ſtores to be relanded, and ſpread a report that his voyage was deferred till the next ſpring. Fitzwilliams being deceived returned to port, and Albany's arrival was wholly unexpected by the Engliſh. See an original letter from Wolſey to the embaſſador at the emperor's court, dated 31 Aug. 1523, from the Yelverton papers, in the appendix to Fiddes's Wolſey, p. 137, Herbert's Henry VIII, p. 138. Hall's Chronicle, 15 H. 8.

one

one hundred men at arms with their attendants, and eighty barded cavalry: accompanied with twenty large cannons, and four double cannons, many *pavaſies*, a ſort of artillery mounted on a car of two wheels, and armed with two large ſwords before; of ſmall artillery and powder the ſupply was plenteous; and twelve of the veſſels were laden with victuals and wine [6]. A promiſe was added of three thouſand Swiſs inſtantly to follow [7]: and nothing was wanted except a general. 1523

The tide of French gold, which flowed on the regent's arrival, again ſet on float in his favour the heſitating reſolutions of moſt of the peers. The others were ſtruck with conſternation, on beholding his ſumptuous preparations, and the pomp of war which ſhone around his perſon, though they knew that the lion's formidable garb only arrayed a deer. The queen, conſcious of her conduct, was ſeized with diſmay, and earneſtly deſired to be received into England [8]: but this ſtep was oppoſed by Wolſey and Surrey, as half the ſum required for her maintenance in that opulent country would afford a rich ſupply if ſhe remained in Scotland [9]. Albany acted towards her with

[6] C. Lord Ogle to Surrey, Sept. 1523, Cal. B. III, 58. O. Margaret to Surrey, B. VI, 380. O. Surrey to Wolſey, VI, 284. The firſt report was that Albany had brought 8000 French; and that De la Pole was following, with thirty ſhips, to aſſert his title to the Engliſh throne: Surrey's letter, 27 Sept. Richard de la Pole was the brother of Edmund, beheaded in 1513; and claimed the crown as the ſon of a ſiſter of Edward IV.

[7] Margaret calls them Germans, B. VI, 380.

[8] O. Margaret to Surrey, B. VI, 380: ſhe has recourſe to her repeated argument, that ſhe has pledged her cupboard of plate, and has nothing "to find her meat:" ſhe muſt have ſupplies from England, elſe Albany will induce her to join the French intereſt.

[9] O. Wolſey to Surrey, 7 Oct. B. VI, 452. He ſpeaks of ſending a hundred pounds or two; miſerable conduct of the avaricious Wolſey towards the ſiſter of his ſovereign, who had now only about 1000*l.* Scotiſh, 250*l.* ſterling, of yearly revenue. B. VI, 287.

politeneſs;

1523 politeneſs; but ordered twelve Scotiſh archers of the royal guard of France, ſent by Francis for that purpoſe, to attend James; an apparent honour, a real ſervitude [1].

As the foreign troops would ſoon exhauſt their proviſions, and the Scots were little diſpoſed to ſupport the expence of their maintenance, the regent's firſt care was to lead them into actual ſervice: and, by the conſent of the parliament, a beg. Oct. proclamation of array was iſſued, commanding all capable of arms to aſſemble within two miles of Edinburgh, on the twentieth of October, with proviſions for twenty days [2]. The burghs were ordered to furniſh carriages for ſeventeen days, a circumſtance which increaſed, if poſſible, their deteſtation of the regent [3]. Yet the queen informs Surrey that never were the Scots, exaſperated by the deſtruction of Jedburgh, ſo firmly united and determined againſt England [4]. Albany, now at Glaſgow, attended by the chief peers, ordered a diſplay of his foreign troops and artillery; ſpoke of Flodden and their fathers, and the diſgrace and injuries which Scotland had been doomed to receive from one Engliſh nobleman, and his ſon: the peers fell on their knees, and promiſed the ſtricteſt obedience to his commands [5]. Arran now ruled Tividale the Merſe, Lothian, Linlithgow, and Stirlingſhire: Huntley the northern counties: Lennox and Argyle the weſtern: all promiſed their firmeſt aid [6]. The foreign troops, ſo completely accoutred for war, increaſed the confidence of the regent, who

[1] C. Inſtructions Margaret to Sinclair, Oct. 1523. B. VI, 287. O. Surrey to Wolſey, 10 Oct. ib. 283.

[2] O. Surrey to Wolſey, about 12th Oct. B. VI, 284. The place of meeting was probably the uſual ſpot, the Burrow-muir.

[3] O. Margaret to Surrey, Oct. B. VI, 380.

[4] O. Same to ſame, Tueſday, 5 Oct. ib. 379.

[5] O. Sir W. Eure to Surrey, 19 Oct. B. III, 57.

[6] O. Margaret to Surrey, Oct. VI, 379.

ſeemed

ſeemed anxious to atone, by ſome glorious action, for the unexampled diſgrace of his former campaign: and the nation anxiouſly expected a ſignal revenge for the defeat of Flodden, and the recent conflagrations. 1523

On the other hand the Engliſh general, informed of all theſe tranſactions by innumerable ſpies, particularly the prioreſſes of Coldingham and Eccles, and a relation of lord Borthwick whoſe name is unknown [7], ordered every preparation to be made to repell this formidable invaſion. Berwick had been put into a ſtrong ſtate of defence by Henry VII, but had ſince fallen into much neglect: it was a mile and three quarters in circumference; and would have required a garriſon of ſix thouſand, inſtead of the ſmall number allotted: a peſtilence now raged in the town; there were two great breaches in the wall, to the extent of eighty feet; and its defence Surrey repreſents as impracticable, for Albany might raiſe thirty thouſand valiant men of Tividale, and other ſouthern counties, and make a ſudden attack, while Northumberland could hardly muſter two thouſand five hundred: the ſole hope was that, as the moon had waned three days, Albany would not advance, contrary to the practice of the times [8]. Surrey directed that Norham ſhould be repaired, ſo as to be capable of maintaining a defence for at leaſt eight days. Wark attracted his next attention: the dungeon ormain tower was ſo ſtrong, that it might have ſtood a ſiege of ten days, while the outer walls could not have reſiſted for two [9]. All the corn was withdrawn from the Engliſh borders: the fords of the river Till, and other ſtreams, were deranged by damming, and other me-

[7] O. Sir William Bulmer to the lord treaſurer, B. VI, 429. Lord Borthwick had promiſed to inform this ſpy of every tranſaction, and that he would enable him to eſcape from the army with complete information: ibid.

[8] O. Surrey to Wolſey, 27 Sept. B. VI, 313. [9] Ibid.

1523 thods [1]. To weaken Albany's influence, letters were ſent to the queen, and the peers of Scotland, in which his attempt to mediate between England and France was treated with ſupreme contempt, as the mere preſumption of folly; an inſult
20 Oct. which ſtung the paſſionate regent to the ſoul [2]. Surrey began to collect his army, and had requeſted Wolſey that ſome nobles of the ſouth might be ſent, and ſome of the youthful peers, if they would leave their attendance on court, their dances, dice, and cards, to adorn by their preſence the probable theatre of a great battle [3]. The marquis of Dorſet accordingly joined him
23 Oct. at Newcaſtle, with the gentlemen of the king's houſhold: while Northumberland, Clifford, Latimer, Darcy, Scrope, added the whole power of their vaſſalage [4]. But want of proviſions prevented the Engliſh leader from marching to the north; and Albany, knowing that ſcarcity, lingered, in the hopes that it would increaſe, and diſperſe the enemy without effuſion of blood [5]. England expected a ſanguinary conteſt, and diſdained not to mingle apprehenſions with her hope: but the letters of Wolſey to Surrey, during this criſis, now excite only a ſmile, while we obſerve the pedantic cardinal, in epiſtles of ſeven or eight leaves, divided into heads like ſermons, inſtructing one of the moſt able generals of his age in the art of war, and in the management of a campaign. His pride uniformly blends the king's orders, and opinions, with his own;

[1] Surrey to Wolſey, B. VI, 284.

[2] Ibid. C. Surrey to the Scotiſh peers, directed to the chancellor, Huntley, Argyle, Arran, Lennox, and to all other nobles of Scotland, B. VI, 307; "the preſumptuous folly of the duke, to think that ſo light a perſonage as he," &c.

[3] O. Surrey to Wolſey, 8 Oct. 1523, B. VI, 315.

[4] O. Same to ſame, 23 Oct. B. VI, 289. He pathetically requeſts Wolſey to be beneficent to his children, if he fall in the battle, for his eſtate is exhauſted in the king's ſervice. [5] O. Surrey to Henry, B. VI, 306.

while

while Surrey profeſſes equal attention to both [6]. The cardinal affected to repreſent the invaſion as impoſſible, as "it is not unknown that king James, whom your father and you ſlew, was a man of great courage, well-beloved, and in great eſtimation among his ſubjects," yet it was difficult even for him, with all his long provided treaſures, to inſtigate ſuch an enterprize, even at the proper ſeaſon; far leſs for Albany, a man of known puſillanimity, and eminent imprudence, at ſuch a time of the year [7]. With more wiſdom he deſires that no truce be granted, if required by the regent; as this favour might tend to reconcile the Scots to his preſence, by his redeeming them from the calamities of war; while England could allow of no terms, except the exile of Albany, and the ſolemn aſſumption of the power by James [8]. 1523

Surrey, learning that Albany's hoſt was aſſembled, and prepared to march, detached the Marquis of Dorſet to Alnwick, and Darcy to Bamborough, with about nine thouſand men, beſides the array of Northumberland; and, if Albany directed his attack to Berwick, they had orders to garriſon the town with all their diviſion [9]. He himſelf advanced on the 26 Oct. ſame route towards Belford: while Dorſet proceeded with his van of ſeven thouſand, and garriſoned Berwick [1]. The whole army appears to have amounted to about fifty thouſand, and was eager to invade Scotland; but Henry's orders to the general bore that he ſhould advance no further than the banner

[6] O. Wolſey to Surrey, 12 Oct. B. VI, 321, &c: "the kyng's and mine opinion." [7] Ibid.

[8] O. Same to ſame, 23 Oct. a diſpatch of ſeven leaves, Cal. B. VI, 295. Surrey had required that the poſts ſhould be ordered to paſs from London to Newcaſtle in eighteen hours, which, he adds, they may eaſily do. B. VI, 315: (the beginning of the letter is ever referred to.)

[9] O. Surrey to Wolſey, 26 Oct. B. VI, 310.

[1] O. Same to ſame, 28 Oct. B. II, 23.

1523 of St. Cuthbert was accuſtomed, and this ſacred ſtandard was probably only a defenſive ſignal [2]. Surrey remained at Belford, till Albany ſhould enter the Engliſh territory.

The Scotiſh hoſt aſſembled at the uſual place, the Burrow-muir near Edinburgh, to the amount of ſixty thouſand men: and the regent ſlowly conducted their march to Melroſe, retarded by cumberſome artillery, and by roads rendered deep
28 Oct. and difficult by recent falls of ſnow and rain [3]. Here they erected their tents of boughs and ſtraw; and on the ſecond day proceeding down the Tweed they arrived at Eccles, on the ſide of the river oppoſite to Wark, where they encamped; while Albany lodged in the adjoining caſtle of Home, and ordered part of the artillery to proceed towards Berwick: after which, to the ſurprize of the army, he commenced the ſiege of Wark [4].

The celebrated Buchanan was in the Scotiſh army at this time, and thus deſcribes this noted fortreſs. "In the inner-

[2] O. Surrey to Henry, B. VI, 306.

[3] O. Surrey to Wolſey, 28 Oct. B. II, 23. In the above letter to Henry, B. VI, 306, dated at Belford; about 30 Oct. Surrey obſerves that Albany's army had been, ſince tueſday ſevennight, on the ſouth of Edinburgh; and, for eight days, within 12, 10, 4, and 2 miles, of the Engliſh frontier, without daring to enter. While his numerous hoſt ſo much deſpoiled the ſouth of Scotland, that ſeven years would not repair the damage, Albany's only concern was for the broken axle-trees of five or ſix of his carriages for artillery; an incident which excited his iraſcibility to a violent degree. When Albany was at Lauder on his march, Sir Antony Ughtred, captain of Berwick, wrote to Surrey for a reinforcement. Argyle was at Glaſgow, aſſembling his Iriſh (highlanders): Huntley pretended ſickneſs, to avoid joining the Scotiſh army. Ughtred's letter, in the appendix to Hearne's Otterbourn.

Hall, 15 H. 8, informs us that lord Forbes, who was in the army, oppoſed the expedition: he probably means the *maſter* of Forbes, againſt whom this charge was afterwards adduced. See the notes, June 1536.

[4] O. Surrey to Henry, B. VI, 306.

moſt

moſt area a large and ſtrong tower riſes to a great height: it 1523
is ſurrounded by two walls, the outermoſt embraces a wide
ſpace, into which, in time of danger, the country people are
accuſtomed to flee for refuge, and bring their cattle and corn;
the ſpace between the inner wall and the fort is much ſmaller,
but more ſtrongly ſecured with ditches and towers [5]."

The unaccountable ſcene which followed ſhall be deſcribed almoſt in the words of Surrey, in a diſpatch to his ſovereign, dated at the Engliſh camp near Wark, on the third of November [6]. On ſaturday night Albany advanced ſome artillery 30 Oct.
againſt Wark, and ſent the French auxiliaries over the Tweed, as he truſted them more than the Scots, and formed of them the van of his army [7]. On ſunday, at break of day, a vigo- Nov. 1.
rous fire commenced: and on the following day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Tweed being ſwelled with the ſnow and rain, Albany ordered two thouſand French to paſs in boats, and proceed to the aſſault. They ſpeedily ſeized the "baſe-court," or exterior circle, but Sir William Liſle, captain of the caſtle, bravely defended the inner court for an hour and a half; after which time the French began to enter that precinct; but being then encountered hand to hand by the captain and garriſon, they were driven out, and left ten ſlain. Surrey, then at Holy Iſland, inſtantly ordered the neareſt part of the array to meet at Barmore wood, five miles from Wark; and advanced on tueſday, at break of day. Albany 3 Nov.

[5] XIV, 22. The deſcription may be applied to Norman caſtles in general.

[6] O. Cal. B. VI, 304. Henry's anſwer, B. I, 307, fixes the date of this diſpatch to the 3d and 4th Nov.

[7] Margaret, in a letter to Dacre, Oct. 1523, C. Cal. B. II, 203, obſerves that Albany diſtruſts the Scots, and puts the French in the front. Wolſey, in a note on the margin, remarks that his want of confidence in the Scots afforded a preſumption that he would not invade England: and, for any proweſs they were of, he rather wiſhes the French in the van, than the Scots.

trembled

1523 trembled at his approach: withdrew the artillery: and ſounded a retreat to his numerous and aſtoniſhed battalions. "Undoubtedly," ſays Surrey, "there was never man departed with more ſhame, or with more fear, than the duke has done this day [8]." The regent retired to Eccles, whence at half an hour paſt twelve, on tueſday night, he ſuddenly marched, hearing that the Engliſh approached; and his array, ſtruck with his panic, diſperſed, rather with flight than retreat, amid a tempeſt of ſnow which increaſed the general diſorder [9]. Such was the iſſue of this grand expedition, which in its commencement only diſplays the regent's imprudence; and in its termination his total deficiency in military talents, and even in common valour.

Surrey, after requiring ten thouſand marks to pay the ſoldiers for their paſt ſervice, and journey to their homes [1], 12 Nov. diſmiſſed his numerous and gallant army. His ſovereign highly praiſed his conduct, and regarded the tranſaction as no leſs honourable than uſeful to England, as it might alienate the Scotiſh peers from France, and as a laſting reproach to Albany, who had "ſhamefully and cowardly raiſed his ſiege and fled," ſo that even the French monarch would be averſe to ſupport his precarious authority [2].

The regent, though, writhing with ſhame and anguiſh, he read reproaches in every eye, yet affected to be unconſcious of

[8] Surrey to Henry above-quoted. He computes the damage done by Albany in England at ten pounds. The Engliſh army was very numerous, for the general writes that he never beheld one ſo large, or ſo valiant: the battle would have been terrible.

[9] O. Henry to Surrey, 12 Nov. 1523, B. I, 307. The letter of Surrey, of the 4th, ſeems loſt; but Henry's anſwer recapitulates its contents. See alſo the account of an eye-witneſs, Buch. XIV, 23, and his life, p. 1.

[1] Cal. B. VI, 304. [2] O. Henry to Surrey, 12 Nov. B. I, 307.

his

his loſt reputation, and aſcribed the diſgrace to the peers who would not advance into England; he even imputed to Arran, Lennox, and others, a deſign to have delivered him up to the Engliſh army[3]. A parliament was proclaimed to meet at Edinburgh on tueſday the ſeventeenth of November[4], in which Albany in vain attempted to palliate his conduct. The peers inſiſted that the French ſhould be inſtantly diſmiſſed; and they accordingly ſailed partly by the eaſtern ſea, partly by the weſtern[5]: the ſeaſon was unfavourable, and many periſhed[6]. To add, if poſſible, to the general contempt the regent, who had retained or diſſipated not leſs than three hundred thouſand crowns, entruſted to him by France for the purpoſes of his recent voyage, expreſſed his deſire of being repaid for his expences, by the ſale of the royal domains; though he knew that the conſequence would be the reduction of the king his nephew to abſolute poverty[7]. The propoſal only ſhewed his deſpair of obtaining any purpoſe, except money, in Scotland, and was rejected: the chancellor alſo began to leſſen his attachment, a rumour having ariſen that Albany intended to beſtow his office on another; though he, with Huntley, Argyle, and the biſhop of Aberdeen, were regarded as his chief adherents[8]. The regent however prevailed on the parliament to conſent that James ſhould remain at Stirling, and to appoint Caſſils, Fleming, Borthwick, to abide with him each in his turn for three months, and Murray, to attend him conſtantly[9]. 1523

[3] O. Margaret to Surrey, 14 Nov. ib. 281. [4] Ibid.

[5] Same to ſame, 23 Nov. B. I, 194.

[6] From a letter, Cal. B. I, 5, written in Jan. 1524, it appears that 400 or 500 French, who were driven by a tempeſt on the weſtern iſles, periſhed by famine or ſlaughter.

[7] O. Margaret to Surrey, B. I, 194.

[8] O. ſame to ſame, 23 Nov. B. I, 172.

[9] O. Scotiſh Council to Margaret, 24 Nov. 1523, B. I, 309. O. Margaret to Surrey, ſame date, ib. 279.

The

1523 The queen, deriving conſideration from Albany's decline, re-
24 Nov. monſtrated ſtrongly againſt this novelty, and repeated to Surrey her wiſh to withdraw into England; Fleming was a man of flagitious character, having, in order to deſtroy his own wife, poiſoned her and her two ſiſters at once, a crime known to all Scotland; Murray's ſiſter was the paramour of the regent, who had alſo placed Gouzolles, the captain of Milan, as a conſtant attendant of the young king [1]. The Scotiſh council however only conſented that Erſkine ſhould be added to the number, his ſimplicity being obnoxious to neither party; and that Margaret might viſit her ſon, but not above two or three days at a time, and only with her ladies and uſual train [2]. After this arrangement, Albany deſired of the parliament a permiſſion
Dec. to return to France in the ſpring, for five months, elſe he muſt inſiſt on having the diſpoſal of half the beneſices in Scotland, in order to defray the expence of the war [3]. Many of the peers inſiſted on his reſignation of the regency [4]; but all conſented to his departure; which, in the event, proved final.

1524 The year fifteen hundred and twenty four is pregnant with diverſity of events, among which the moſt conſpicuous are, the final departure of Albany; the aſſumption of the authority by the queen; and the termination of the war with England. In the beginning of this year Huntley, one of the moſt potent peers of Scotland, died; and his ſon being only ten years of age, the weight of that name became dormant [5]. Albany in vain perſiſted in his deſire of comprehending France, in a pacification to be concluded between England and Scotland,

[1] Letter laſt quoted. [2] B. I, 309, already quoted.
[3] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 27 Dec. B. I, 1. [4] Leſl. 411, 412.
[5] Cal. B. I, 5. Huntley's death was on the 16th Jan. 1523-4. Gordon's hiſt. Fam. Gordon, Edin. 1726, 2 vols. 8vo. I, 125: and ſo Ferrerius Hiſt. Gord. f. 150, MS. Harl. 1423.

offering

offering even to go to Rome, if this point were granted[6]: his affectation of mediating between Henry and Francis was conſidered as moſt preſumptuous, and his propoſals were ſcornfully rejected. One of the laſt acts of his power was to procure the papal bulls for the promotion of Gawin Dunbar, prior of Whithern and preceptor to the king, (nephew of Gawin Dunbar biſhop of Aberdeen,) to the archbiſhopric of Glaſgow: and Margaret upon this occaſion wrote to Henry, requeſting a ſafe conduct for a ſhip of one hundred and twenty tons, manned by twenty four mariners; which, by a ſingular arrangement, was to defray the expence of the bulls by a mercantile voyage[7]. 1524 Feb. March

The regent having repeated, in a council of the peers, his intention of paſſing to France, it was demanded by them that, if he did not return by the firſt of September, his office ſhould be conſidered as expired, and the ſceptre placed in the hands of the king[8]. Deſpiſed by the chiefs, deteſted by the people, Albany had no intention to reviſit a country, in which he had only met with unexampled vexations, and diſgraces; and to which his preſence, like the return of a comet, had only brought diſmay and calamity: he therefore aſſented to this demand. But he inſiſted upon a promiſe that the lords would abide by the alliance with France, concluded at Rouen by the biſhops of Dunkeld and Roſs and ſecretary Panter, in fifteen

[6] Albany's inſtructions to Barboun his ſecretary, ſent to Dacre, 15 Feb. 1524, C. Cal. B. VI, 325. Catherine Ormiſton, a relation of lord Borthwick, and a ſpy of Albany, was ſeized in England in March. Her confeſſion, of no moment, may be ſeen in Cal. B. III, 67.

[7] O. Margaret to Henry, 31 March, B. I, 272. Keith, 152, ſays Gawin Dunbar was inſtalled in 1524. He muſt have been *elect* in 1523, as appears from his voyage to France above mentioned, for it is improbable that the chancellor Beton ſhould be the archbiſhop there commemorated.

[8] Epiſt. R. S. I, 352, 355.

1524 hundred and ſeventeen, and make no peace with England till the time fixt for his return [9]. He deſired to leave Gouzolles, as his treaſurer; and that nothing of moment ſhould be done, without the conſent of that foreigner. The peers demurred [1]. He required forty thouſand crowns of the ſun, to defray the expence of his voyage to France, and to be repaid at Dieppe to the Scotiſh merchants. Refuſed [2]. After carrying off many of the royal artillery of Scotland aboard his veſſels, and committing the reſt, with the cuſtody of the caſtle of Dunbar, a key of the kingdom, to Gouzolles, (who retained it with his French garriſon for about twelve years after, and at firſt even pretended to interfere in the affairs of the kingdom,) Albany
20 May took his final leave at Dunbarton, on the twentieth day of May, loaden with the execrations of a people, oppreſſed by his exactions, and ſtung with the ignominy of his government [3].

In the abſence of Albany, James Beton archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and chancellor of the kingdom, poſſeſſed for two months the chief influence; a prelate whoſe character not a little reſembled that of Cardinal Beton, his nephew, and ſucceſſor in the metropolitan ſee and the chancery. The epiſ-

[9] O. Dacre to Wolſey, 30 May 1524, B. II, 205. [1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

[3] Buch. XIV, 23, fixes the day of his departure. Dacre, 30 May, B. II, 205, mentions it as having taken place at Dunbarton. The other particulars appear from original letters, quoted under the years 1528 and 1536. Dacre informs Wolſey, 11 June, B. II, 306, that Albany, (who bore the title and arms of lord of Man,) wiſhed to attack that iſle on his return to France, but the ſoldiers engaged for the purpoſe would not proceed.

In Cal. B. II, 285, is given an abſtract of nineteen letters, written about this time. They mention that Albany had left great power to Lennox, and had given him the abbey of Dryburgh, on condition that he acted as warden of the borders; and that Lennox gave it to James Stuart. From them it alſo appears that many Scotiſh peers had not only penſions from France, but even velvets, and ſilks, from the French king's wardrobe.

copal

copal robe, the garb of ſanctity and humility, ſerved only as a cloke to all the paſſions of the man of the world: his pride and ambition were unbounded, his diſſimulation profound, to his duplicity no principle was ſacred. 1524

No ſooner had Albany departed, than the ſcheme projected before his laſt arrival for placing the chief power oſtenſibly in the hands of the king, now only in his twelfth year, but really in thoſe of a council under the controul of England, was revived with ſpeedy ſucceſs. The queen's late dereliction of her brother, at a critical period, was not forgotten; and the Engliſh cabinet reſolved to truſt her no further than ſhould be found convenient; and, if any new duplicity ſhould appear, to transfer the direction of affairs to Angus, whoſe influence in Scotland was very great, and who had long been attached to the Engliſh intereſt, and had in his exile correſponded with Henry [4]. But as Margaret was adored by the Scotiſh nation, to whom ſhe was endeared by her conſtant mediations for peace, by her character of widow of their favourite monarch, and mother of a young king, always the object of warm hopes and affections, it was expedient that ſhe ſhould act a principal part in this grand exhibition. The earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk by the death of his father [5], continued in the northern regions of England, in his character of lieutenant general, in order to overawe any oppoſition by the dread of an inſtantaneous array and invaſion, while Margaret exerted every art to gain over many of the peers from Albany's intereſt; nor did ſhe labour without ſucceſs, for, in a letter to her brother, ſhe aſſures him that ſeveral had acceded to her cauſe [6]. Arran June 13 July

[4] See a holograph letter from Angus to Henry, in French, dated Paris 8 May, Cal. B. III, 305, expreſſing gratitude and ſervice.

[5] Which happened on the 21ſt May 1524. Dugd. Bar.

[6] O. Cal. B. I, 283.

1524 who, being nearly allied to the throne, had long aſpired to the regency againſt Albany, but was of doubtful affection to the Engliſh intereſt, now reſolved to unite his pretenſions with thoſe of the queen: and, in the abſence of Angus, their union was irreſiſtible in Scotland, and, in the depreſſion of the French influence, was expoſed to little hazard from external force, or from the few remaining adherents of that faction. Margaret, confirmed in her reſolutions by the acceſſion of Arran, reſolved to put them in execution without the aid of England; as by this mode of conduct ſhe would increaſe her own importance, in the eyes of Henry and of Europe; and was at the ſame time certain that Henry would warmly ſupport a ſcheme, which he had eagerly deſired. Nor was this ſpirited princeſs free from a portion of that independent pride, which had animated the boſom of her huſband James IV: ſhe wiſhed Scotland to be regarded as a kingdom above all foreign controul; and herſelf to be treated as a queen, and not as a delegate of cardinal Wolſey, whom ſhe ſeems to have cordially hated and deſpiſed; nor was her good opinion of her brother increaſed by his infatuated devotion to that pedantic and unprincipled churchman. But this ſpirit was little agreeable to the tyrannical temper of the cardinal, who was afterwards to find in Angus a more ſubmiſſive deputy for the management of Scotland. Yet had Wolſey been a politician, a character he falſely aſſumed, he muſt have foreſeen that the violent manner, in which the Engliſh intereſt was exerted under Angus, would tend completely to alienate the young king from England, as actually happened; while his mother's independent meaſures, joined with her natural attachment to her country, would have formed the baſis of an inclination, laſting, becauſe the produce of reaſon and liberty; while his conſtrained and degrading ſubmiſſion terminated, as uſual, in hatred. At this time

time his love to England formed a part of his filial affections: 1524
on his releaſe, at the end of three years, from the chains of Angus, rivetted by the haughty hands of Henry and Wolſey, he was to nouriſh an enmity never to be eradicated; which expoſed him to the deſigns of the clergy attached to France, embittered his life, and was the cauſe of his untimely death in the very prime of his age.

Margaret, eager to obtain a power which ſhe did not foreſee was not to laſt many months, had only to revive her arrangement of laſt year, and put it in immediate execution, which Arran's aſſiſtance rendered no longer difficult. Accordingly, while Wolſey and Norfolk continued to doubt, but liberally promiſed every aid and ſupply, the queen ſuddenly left Stirling 26 July with her ſon, and a few attendants, and proceeded to Edinburgh, where the young monarch was received with acclamations and tears of joy[7]. Amid the mutual congratulations of the people, the degrading minority, which had proved ſo ruinous to the nation, was ended; behold a ſovereign, young but wiſe above his years! behold the heir of an ancient line of kings, at length reſcued from the hands of wicked ambition! behold the ſon of James IV, the valiant, the magnificent, our protector, our father! With ſuch ſounds of joy was the royal proceſſion attended to the palace of Holyroodhouſe: and proclamations being immediately iſſued in the name of James, and due notifications ſent of his aſſumption of his own authothority, the well-affected peers crowded to his preſence; while the others remained in ſilent conſternation, any oppoſition being liable to a charge of rebellion. So eaſily did one day accompliſh what to the preceding ſeemed impoſſible.

[7] Leſl. 412.

Many

1524 Many of the lords, ſpiritual and temporal, immediately entered into an engagement, to ſupport the king's aſſumption of
30 July the power. The original bond is yet extant, and bears that, as the king had proceeded from Stirling to take the ſceptre, they promiſe to be loyal ſervants, and to ſupport his authority or that uſed by deputies in his name, notwithſtanding any profeſſion they have made to Albany; nay they formally annul any engagement they have entered into with Albany, and quaſh and diſſolve his regency, ſo that James may freely exert the entire ſovereignty: and they promiſe that, in the next parliament, they ſhall pronounce the termination of Albany's government. This important inſtrument is ſigned by the biſhops of Galloway and Roſs, the abbots of Holyroodhouſe, Scone and Paiſley, the earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, Murray, Morton, Caſſils, the lords Erſkine, Fleming, Borthwick, Livingſton, Avandale, and many others [8].

The king, or rather Margaret, then took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Edinburgh, and probably appointed a new captain. As in that capital the parliaments were held, and it was eſſential that the magiſtracy ſhould be devoted to the preſent government, the queen removed the provoſt from his office, which, at her inſtance, was conferred on lord Maxwell [9].

James was now inſtated in the ſovereignty; and his minority was in future to be uncurbed by any regency. But as Margaret, and afterwards the chancellor and Angus, were in fact,

[8] O. Cal. B. VI, 378. Notarial copy, 1 Aug. ib. 332. The latter is alſo ſigned *J. Chancellor*, an important name which I cannot diſcern in the original: the former has *Johannes Cantaily Archidiac. St. And.* which occurs not in the copy. Among the leſſer names are Mr. Francis Bothwell, provoſt of Edinburgh; and a baillie, the dean of Gild, and the treaſurer of that city.

[9] Leſl. 413. Gouzolles in a letter to Albany, Sept. 1524, B. III, 90, ſays Maxwell was made provoſt on the 20th of Auguſt.

though

though not in name, regents, for the four ſucceeding years, 1524
or till July one thouſand five hundred and twenty eight; and
it would be as contrary to hiſtorical rules, as to the civil law,
to conſider a boy aged twelve years and three months as an
uncontrouled ſovereign, while the moſt early majority of a
monarch was computed at fourteen years; the termination of
the power of Angus, when James was in his ſeventeenth year,
ſhall be regarded as the commencement of the actual and in-
dependent authority of this king. Yet, as he now appears as
an actor on the ſtage of hiſtory, ſome features of his nonage
ſhall be here given, from contemporary evidence, reſerving
the marked character of his life and reign, according to the
plan followed in this work, till he aſſume the decided direc-
tion of the national affairs, ever ſubject to the influence of the
monarch's individual conduct. In perſon, countenance, and
manner, if we believe the Engliſh embaſſadors, James very
much reſembled his uncle Henry [1]; he diſplayed a ſpirit and
firmneſs above his age, but not unuſual in minor kings, accuſ-
tomed from infancy to be treated with the reſpect and defer-
ence, due to manly ſentiment and action. He rode well, tilted
at the glove with a ſpear not unſkilfully, ſung with force and
preciſion, danced with elegance; and his converſation did honour
to his preceptor Gawin Dunbar, a man of ſcience, being replete
with maſculine ſenſe and information [2]. In nothing would
he permit himſelf to be regarded as a boy. Dr. Magnus, in
requeſting Wolſey to ſend an ornamented buckler to James,
who deſired to have one, on hearing that his uncle ſometimes
uſed that piece of defenſive armour, informs the cardinal that
it muſt be of manly ſize, for the young king had no puerile

[1] O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolſey, 15 Nov. 1524. B. VI, 333.
[2] Ibid.

weapon

1524 weapon nor decoration; even his ſword being a yard long before the hilt, and yet he could draw it as well as any man [3]. With hawks and hounds he was delighted [4]: nor was he a ſtranger to any noble exerciſe or amuſement. But one other extract of a letter from Magnus to Wolſey muſt not be omitted, "It is ſuſpected that his inclination will be much inclined to cruelty, for when the queen's grace taketh diſpleaſure againſt any of the lords, or others, then ſhe procureth the ſaid young king to be ſad, heavy, and penſive, to look down and frown upon them, and to hold unto them ſome ſore and ſharp words [5]."

The queen's ſudden production of her ſon anticipated the
1 Aug. plan projected by Wolſey and Norfolk to that effect, which was, that the chancellor of Scotland ſhould be intercepted by means of a pretended conference on the borders, and compelled to acknowledge the ſovereignty of James, that Norfolk ſhould then preſs the queen to accompliſh the ſcheme, offer her ſums to the amount of two thouſand pounds to bribe the peers; and his army, if force were neceſſary: that, it being better, as Wolſey coarſely expreſſes himſelf, to have two ſtrings to the bow, eſpecially when one was made by a woman's fingers, if Margaret were averſe, Norfolk was himſelf to enforce the acknowledgment of James by fire and ſword: but, if ſhe conſented, the guard of two hundred men, to be paid at Henry's expence, deſired by her and Arran, for the ſecurity of the king's perſon, ſhould be granted; Angus, as they alſo requeſted, ſhould not be permitted to viſit Scotland, except by the queen's favour. The whole power of Henry was promiſed in ſupport of the enterprize; and as James had been left by his avaricious uncle the regent in great penury, one thouſand nobles were to

[3] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 31 May, 1525, B. II, 35.
[4] O. Same to ſame, 31 March 1525, B. VII, 3. [5] Ibid.

be

be remitted to him, two hundred marks to the queen, one hundred pounds to Arran, merely as an earneſt of ſimilar favours in future [6]. 1524

Upon the unexpected tidings that the ſcheme was accompliſhed, the Engliſh guard, and the preſents were tranſmitted: it was deſired that an embaſſy of peace ſhould be ſent to London, as an honourable proceeding towards Henry: and Wolſey warmly recommended that James Beton, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, chancellor, and Gawin Dunbar biſhop of Aberdeen, who continued obſtinate in their adherence to Albany's authority, ſhould be ſilenced by impriſonment, or otherwiſe [7]. At the ſame time the queen warmly proteſted againſt the return of Angus, averring that, if this were permitted, ſhe would find ſome other reſource for herſelf than the ſupport of England [8], evidently inferring that of France: but, to ſhew her devotion to the deſires of the Engliſh court, ſhe committed both St. Andrew's and Aberdeen to cloſe captivity [9]; while Wolſey wrote to the former, offering many objects of ambition, and even the hat of cardinal, if he would conſent to embrace the meaſures of England, and paſs as embaſſador into that kingdom [1]. The chancellor, inſtead of compliance, offered

9 Aug.

13 Aug.

19 Aug.

[6] O. Wolſey to Norfolk, 1 Aug. 1524, Cal. B. VI, 355. In this letter it is mentioned that ſome Engliſh veſſels in the Iceland trade had been taken by two ſhips of Leith: and that the Scots had ſo many cruiſers, that even the Zealand fleet was in danger, if the Engliſh ſquadron in the northern ſeas were not more alert.

[7] O. Wolſey to Norfolk, 9 Aug. B. II, 15.

[8] O. Margaret to Norfolk, B. VI, 377.

[9] C. Gouzolles to Albany, Sept. 1524, B. I, 47, and B. III, 90. He ſays the prelates were committed to priſon for their *oppoſition in parliament*. It is no wonder that the Scotiſh parliaments had no minorities. Dr. Magnus, B. VI, 329, confirms the account of Gouzolles.

[1] O. Wolſey to Norfolk, 19 Aug. B. VI, 353.

1524 to the queen twenty thouſand crowns for his freedom, beſides rewards to ſome of the peers [2].

A truce with England, of about three months, was con-
4 Sept. cluded at Berwick by Norfolk and Caſſils [3]; but the arrangement of a ſolemn embaſſy from Scotland, as ſtipulated, required more time for preparation. Meanwhile the queen had remitted to Henry ſome articles, expected by her and Arran: ſhe repreſented her neceſſity of ſupplies, for the greater part of the offices of ſtate being in her hands, ſhe was obliged to defray all expences, and Albany had given away moſt of the king's property to the chief peers: for Arran the garter, and a penſion, were required [4]; and the other terms were eſteemed haughty and covetous by the Engliſh cabinet. But ſome compliance was neceſſary, for a favourite part of Wolſey's ſcheme remained to be accompliſhed. To ſecure the prelates of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen, the cardinal's violent and unprincipled politics conſidered it as eſſential that they ſhould be ſent, in diſguiſe, and with great ſecreſy, to Berwick, under a ſtrong guard, to be impriſoned in England: he warmly repreſents the advantages of this meaſure, the profit to the ſcanty royal treaſury by the confiſcation of their property, the dangers to be by this mean fruſtrated, the confirmation given by terror to the queen's government, the deſpair with which it would impreſs Albany, and all his adherents [5]. But the queen, wiſhing to preſerve terms with France and the regent, who might, in the revolutions of human affairs, again lend their friendſhip, when

[2] O. Hals (a meſſenger) to Norfolk, 1 Sept. B. III, 96.

[3] Rymer, XIV, 21. [4] C. 31 Aug. B. I, 218.

[5] O. Wolſey to Norfolk, 2 Sept. B. VI, 336. Redreſs is, in this letter, ordered to be demanded from the Scots, for the capture of ſome Engliſh ſhips returning from Iceland. It is granted that the guards for James, paid by England, ſhall conſiſt of gentlemen, each to have a ſervant; and ſixteen pence a day is to be paid to each for himſelf and his man, as the queen deſires.

that

that of England failed, was averſe to ſuch a deciſive meaſure; 1524
and was contented with retaining the prelates in captivity. Gouzolles, the captain of Dunbar, not only informed Albany of all the tranſactions by letters, ſome of which being intercepted by England are yet extant [6], but had the inſolence to 5 Sept.
remonſtrate to James againſt his new council, and in favour of Albany [7].

A parliament was now ſitting at Edinburgh; and the queen's meaſures met with its entire concurrence [8]. Yet the pride and weakneſs of Arran, and Margaret's indecent conduct, who was now enamoured of Henry Stuart, ſecond ſon of Andrew lord Evandale, the third who bore that title, began to diſpleaſe. This youth ſhe appointed lord treaſurer [9]; and was next year, upon her divorce from Angus, to raiſe him to her bed. Lennox and Glencairn left Edinburgh in diſguſt; and the 11 Sept.
Scots were in general diſſatisfied that the queen ſhould affect to rule without a council, or at leaſt without its deliberation and aſſent [1]. Angus had now returned from France [2] and had reſided two months in London: and Wolſey was not a little embarraſſed how to act towards him, the French embaſſador having inſidiouſly whiſpered that he intended to ſupport the intereſts of France; while, on the other hand, Arran had never been conſidered as a decided friend to England, but would incline to any party, which would ſupport his claim to the regency [3]. Yet the Engliſh cabinet concerted that a report

[6] C. B. I, 47, and B. III, 90. [7] O. 5 Sept. B. I, 40.

[8] Hals, in a letter to Norfolk, Edin. 12 Sept. B. III, 80, ſays he has ſent the *copy* of all the acts paſſed at this parliament: were they printed?

[9] O. Norfolk to Wolſey, 19 Sept. B. VI, 361.

[1] O. Hals to Norfolk, 12 Sept. B. III, 80. O. Norfolk to Wolſey, ib. 361; he ſpeaks alſo of her "ungodly living."

[2] Wolſey to Dacre, 6 July: Letters at the end of Hearne's Otterbourn.

[3] O. Wolſey to Norfolk, 15 Sept. VI, 345.

1524 ſhould be diligently ſpread, that the pope had agreed only to liſten to the requeſts of James himſelf in diſpoſing the Scotiſh benefices [4]. And it was determined that Dr. Magnus, chaplain to Henry and a civilian of celebrated talents, ſhould, with Roger Ratcliffe gentleman uſher of the privy chamber, be ſent on a reſident embaſſy to the Scotiſh court; the former to influence the king by prudent advice, the latter by his noted politeneſs and pleaſant converſation [5].

Arran had already, perhaps with the connivance of the queen, ſent an envoy to the French monarch, deſiring a continuance of the alliance: nor do they ſeem to have heſitated to ſound Francis, on the price he would pay for their ſervices, if they abandoned England [6]. His inſtructions were ſent to Gouzolles, with the character of embaſſador, and are dated at
15 Sept. Avignon [7], where Francis was preparing for his expedition into Italy, terminated, in February, by his captivity at the fatal battle of Pavia. They import that he thanked the king, and ſtates, for their deſire to continue the alliance; that he was ſatisfied with their conduct to Albany; that he was concerned that he could not remit money, nor ſend Albany, who was prevented from returning at the appointed time, by the diſeaſe and death of his wife; and the ſeaſon was now too far advanced; ſo that they muſt temporize till next year, when Albany might be better prepared, and France more free from difficulties, of which, Francis unprophetically adds, "there is the greateſt appearance, not to ſay certainty [8]." He proceeds

[4] O. Wolſey to Norfolk, 15 Sept. VI, 345. [5] Ibid.

[6] The envoy to France appears to have been David Beton, afterwards cardinal; for his return, and the commiſſion to Gouzolles are mentioned together in a letter Magnus to Wolſey, 17 Dec. B. II, 76.

[7] C. Cal. B. VI, 411.

[8] "Et y eſt l'apparance bien grande, et come choſe preſque aſſeurée."

to

to ſtate that he remains well diſpoſed to a marriage treaty be- 1524.
tween James and his daughter, as ſettled by the treaty of Rouen, which he hopes they will obſerve as he has ever done: and he concludes with mentioning that Angus had ſecretly withdrawn from France, without his knowledge, or that of Albany; and that he ought of courſe to be regarded as devoted to England, and as a rebel. In his letter to the king [9], he refers to the inſtructions ſent to Gouzolles: in that to Margaret, (no letter from whom is however acknowledged to have been received,) he only requeſts her to ſupport the real intereſts of her ſon [1].

Meanwhile Norfolk retained ſpies even in the palace of the Scotiſh king [2]; and ſomewhat of this intercourſe with France ſeems to have been ſuſpected, if indeed the inſtructions and letters of France were not intercepted, as is moſt probable. The conduct of Arran and the queen was more and more diſliked: ſhe had even given the ſeals of chancellor [3], for the time, to her paramour Henry Stuart; and never conſulted the nobles, even in moſt important affairs. The Engliſh cabinet began to look to Angus, as he would at leaſt prove a check upon her conduct, he being ſo much beloved in Scotland at this period, that his influence, like the ancient power of his houſe, rather paſſed the limits of a ſubject [4]; and he earneſtly deſired to reviſit his native country, which an abſence of two years and a half had only more endeared to his ambition. Yet money was regularly remitted to pay the Engliſh guards attendant on James, and reward the party which ſupported Margaret,

[9] C. B. VI, 413. [1] C. ibid.

[2] George Shaw, a ſervant of James, was a ſpy. Norfolk to Wolſey, 19 Sept. VI, 361.

[3] Ibid. Norfolk ſays he had ALL the ſeals, and ruled at his pleaſure.

[4] O. Norfolk to Wolſey, 19 Sept. VI, 361.

conſiſting

1524 conſiſting chiefly of the earls of Arran, Murray, Lennox, Caſſils, and the lords Maxwell, Glamis, Evandale, Livingſton, Sempil,
3 Oct. Halket, Somerville[5]: and the queen and Arran warmly remonſtrated againſt the return of Angus into Scotland; and even averred that, if it were permitted, England could expect no embaſſy of pacification[6]. Notwithſtanding theſe menaces Wolſey entered into a formal agreement with Angus, dated at London on the fourth of October[7], in which that peer engages to ſupport James againſt Albany, and openly oppoſe the latter, if he returned to Scotland before the king was twenty-one years of age, and every exertion of the French intereſt; to attempt a reconcilement with the queen, but not to go to court, except with her conſent, nor to form any party againſt her; to eſtabliſh an agreement with Arran if poſſible: but if Margaret and that peer advance not the intereſt of James, meaning that of England, Henry is to ſupport Angus againſt both; who is to maintain the cauſe of England againſt every power, his own ſovereign excepted, and to follow Henry's advice in conveying the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's to England, and in other matters: the natural connection of Angus with England, by his marriage, and the injuries which he had ſuſtained from Albany, are commemorated, and large rewards are promiſed: to the obſervance of the articles Angus and his brother George not only ſign but ſwear. Yet his return to Scotland was delayed almoſt a month; nor was it permitted, till the Engliſh cabinet found the meaſure indiſpenſable. Mag-

[5] O. Robert Lord to Wolſey, 2 Oct. B. I, 70. Sums paid; James 100 marks, Margaret 200, Arran 100*l.* Lennox 75*l.* Maſter of Kilmauris 40*l.* Adam Ottirburn 40*l.* Two months pay to the guards 378*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* All paid in crowns of the ſun, at 5*s.* each, ſo 8*d.* ſaved on each crown; hence they were only worth 4*s.* 4*d.* Names of the peers of the queen's party, B. I, 222.

[6] C. Arran to Norfolk, 3 Oct. B. II, 196. [7] O. B. VI, 395.

nus

nus and Ratcliffe, the embaſſadors, proceeded to Newcaſtle, 1524
on their way to Scotland: but remained there ſome time, till
the ſtate of affairs were more clearly aſcertained. They in-
formed Wolſey[8] that the queen and Arran were the ſole op- 10 Oct.
poſers of the return of Angus; and that ſhe was guided by
moſt imprudent councils, only confiding in Arran, Maxwell,
two or three kinſmen of Arran, and other young men; that
Arran being connected by affinity and friendſhip with the
chancellor could hardly be ſincerely attached to England, and
that the queen's chief deſire was money to ſupport her pro-
fligate profuſion. Norfolk at the ſame time adviſed[9] that
Angus might ſuddenly reviſit his country, to prevent the queen
and Arran from being previouſly ſtrengthened by a connection
with the French faction, as Arran already ſolicited the deliver-
ance of the chancellor: and indeed the government could not
continue, as neither were the lords conſulted, nor even juſtice
adminiſtered; and the nation regarded the queen's conduct, in
prolonging the exile of her own huſband, with great reproba-
tion. Norfolk in vain adviſed Margaret to conciliate the peers
by affability, and by admitting them to her councils; ſhe an-
ſwered that ſhe could not conſent, as ſhe had no cauſe to place
confidence in any, except Arran and Maxwell[1]; not foreſee-
ing that, by thus narrowing the baſis of her authority, ſhe
expoſed it to a ſpeedy overthrow. Angus was permitted to
proceed to Newcaſtle; but Norfolk was inſtructed to detain
him there, and to offer to the queen, as from himſelf, that if
embaſſadors were ſent for a laſting pacification, her huſband
ſhould not be ſuffered to enter Scotland[2]. She repreſented

[8] O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolſey, Newcaſtle 10 Oct. B. VI, 344.
[9] O. Norfolk to Wolſey, 10 Oct. B. I, 311.
[1] C. Norfolk to Margaret, B. VII, 17. O. Margaret to Norfolk, B. VI, 402.
[2] C. Wolſey to Norfolk, B. VII, 87.

that,

1524 that, in caſe of this treaty, the kingdom would loſe fifty thouſand franks, annually remitted by France; and that her influence was ſo ſmall that Scot of Buccleugh had long retained part of her property, worth four thouſand marks yearly, for which cauſe ſhe had lodged both him, and Ker of Ceſsford, in the caſtle of Edinburgh; though with great offence to Lennox,
18 Oct. whoſe bounden follower Buccleugh was [3]. Arran alſo wrote to Dacre, poſitively refuſing any agreement with Angus, who in his opinion could only intend deceit [4].

The Engliſh embaſſadors, Magnus and Ratcliffe, ſtill remained at Newcaſtle, as the Scotiſh embaſſy was not yet ready to proceed to London; here they learned that the biſhop of
20 Oct. Aberdeen was ſet at liberty, and that the chancellor was permitted to enjoy his feſtivals and friends in the caſtle of Edinburgh; while the queen's counſellors were all attached to Albany, though ready to receive money from any party [5]. By preſents to the queen, and Arran, the chancellor was at length
22 Oct. freed, after an impriſonment of two months [6]; a deliverance eſteemed a criterion of the queen's inſincerity in her attachment to England; and Sir George Douglas, in imparting this intelligence to Norfolk, eagerly deſired that his brother Angus might return, as the peers would ſupport him, the queen and Arran being now ſuſpected of favouring France. Wolſey alſo began to perceive that the queen and Arran "took unſtable ways;" while Lennox, and many other peers, warmly wiſhed

[3] O. Margaret to Norfolk, 14 Oct. Cal. B. I, 285, 8 leaves.

[4] O. Arran to Dacre, 18 Oct. B. VII, 74.

[5] O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolſey, Newcaſtle 20 Oct. B. VII, 77. They relate that the biſhop of Aberdeen was at Linlithgow, and declared that Scotland ſhould not be ruled by him who had killed her king and nobles: meaning Norfolk, or Henry.

[6] O. Sir George Douglas to Norfolk, 24 Oct. B. III, 76.

for

for the preſence of Angus, whom the late ſlaughter of lord Fleming by his followers evinced to be a decided enemy to the French faction[7]. And the abſence of Angus, and of the Engliſh embaſſadors, from Scotland being now found to be rather prejudicial than advantageous to the deſigns of England, they were permitted to proceed. 1524

The embaſſadors entered Edinburgh on the twenty-ninth of October[8]; while Angus eſcaped, in appearance, into Scotland on the firſt of November. He inſtantly ſent a letter from Bonkill, in the Merſe, to the queen his wife, couched in the moſt moderate terms; that he had come ſolely to ſerve the queen, and his ſovereign; that, if there be any offence, he is ready to offer atonement; and he earneſtly requeſted permiſſion to ſpeak to her[9]: no anſwer could be expected from her anger: the Engliſh embaſſadors adviſed him to remain in quiet for a ſeaſon, and obſerve his duty to Margaret, to follow the general order from the court, in not travelling with above forty followers, and to permit his brother William to anſwer for his intruſion into the abbey of Coldingham[1]. He accordingly remained for ſome time in ſilence, like a hurricane in a cloud, and Scotland continued unagitated by his preſence. 1 Nov.

[7] C. Wolſey to Norfolk, no date, B. III, 128, whence it appears that the aſſaſſination of Fleming happened, before Wolſey had heard that Angus had entered Scotland. Crawford, Off. 326, ſays Fleming was ſlain by Tweedie of Drumelier on the 1ſt Nov. In Scotſtarvet's Calendars we find that Tweedie, in 1531, gave 10*l.* in mortmain to the church of Biggar, for the ſafety of the ſoul of John lord Fleming.

[8] O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolſey, Edin. 2 Nov. B. VI, 341.

[9] C. Cal. B. VI, 371.

[1] C. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Angus, 4 Nov. VI, 372. On the 7th Nov. Norfolk wrote to Angus, deſiring him to return to Berwick, till the parliament of Scotland ſhould have ariſen, ib. 373: but he did not comply.

1524 The inſtructions of Magnus and Ratcliffe bore, that they were to attempt to reconcile Angus with the queen and Arran; to preſent ſome money, and to promiſe a continuance of the pay to the Engliſh guard of two hundred, if an embaſſy for peace were ſent; to repreſent to Margaret the high praiſe ariſing, if ſhe would ſacrifice her private pique againſt Angus to the public benefit; and laſtly, upon her oath of ſecrecy, to diſcloſe to her the grand baſis of the pacification, namely an offer of the princeſs Mary in marriage to James, though by the infraction of an engagement which affianced her to the emperor Charles V[2]. Wolſey alſo deſired the embaſſadors to whiſper the flattering proſpect of the ſucceſſion to the Engliſh throne; to feed the chancellor with magnificent promiſes; and by every exertion to procure permiſſion for their laſting reſidence in Scotland, to the jealouſy of France, and the advancement of the Engliſh influence[3]. The embaſſadors accordingly remained in Scotland, the reſidence of Magnus being prolonged for a year and a half, though not without intervals of violent oppoſition: and his correſpondence completely unfolds the ſtate of Scotiſh politics, during this buſy period.

Magnus, after delivering his letters, and ſome preſents, diſcloſed to the queen, upon oath, the main intent of the embaſſy, while ſhe endeavoured to vindicate herſelf for the deliverance of the prelates, aſcribing this event to Arran's controul[4]. She deſired

[2] C. Cal. B. VI, 385.

[3] C. Wolſey to Magnus and Ratcliffe, B. VII, 40.

[4] O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolſey, 2 Nov. VI, 341. Some minute particulars may amuſe. The letters were preſented while Margaret and James were going to maſs, amid the muſic of trumpets and *ſhamulles*. Henry ſent a coat of cloth of gold, and a ſword, to James, who on wearing them ſaid, with boyiſh *naiveté*, "You ſee how my good uncle remembers me." In further defence

deſired that Henry would apply to the pope, to grant no Scotiſh 1524
beneſices, except by her ſon's deſire; to whom ſhe alſo requeſted that the order of the garter ſhould be remitted in a ſolemn manner[5]. Margaret agreed that an embaſſy ſhould be ſent; and in the mean time Arran proceeded to hold a conference with Norfolk at the church of Ellam[6]. It was demanded that the Engliſh guards ſhould be increaſed to three hundred, before the approaching meeting of a parliament, on which ſo much depended: but this Norfolk refuſed, as the queen's indecent affection to Henry Stuart entruſted the diſpoſal of affairs in his youthful hands; and the duke recommended to Magnus, as a clergyman, rather to adviſe her for the good of her ſoul, the wiſeſt peers in Scotland thinking that the guard already ſent only emboldened her to diſregard their counſels; and any further ſums were denied, till a written promiſe were given that an embaſſy ſhould be ſpeedily ſent to London[7]. Even the pay for the guard of two hundred 6 Nov.
was now ordered to be diſcontinued, after having been allowed only for two months, on pretence that the queen might employ that attendance againſt Angus[8]. Wolſey and Norfolk, apparently informed of her duplicity in treating with France, had recourſe to thoſe raſh and imperious meaſures, which diſtinguiſhed the adminiſtration of the proud cardinal, and rendered it a ſeries of repeated errors and diſgraces. Norfolk diſpatched a letter to Margaret[9], compoſed in ſo angry a ſtyle, 8 Nov.
that Magnus prudently did not preſent it: ſhe was reproached

defence of her deliverance of the chancellor, the queen ſaid he was ſickly, and the captivity might have killed him: the embaſſadors, in a letter of 10 Nov. VI, 329, obſerve that he "took cold" in the caſtle of Edinburgh.

[5] Ibid. [6] O. Margaret to Norfolk, B. VI, 382.

[7] C. Norfolk to Magnus, 5 Nov. Cal. B. VII, 85.

[8] C. Same to ſame, 6 Nov. B. VI, 370. [9] C. ib. 375.

1524 for not having hitherto complied with her brother's deſires, in any meaſure whatever; that ſhe would neither be reconciled to Angus, nor ſend an embaſſy; that ſhe even permitted traitors to ſurround her ſon; and had forbidden the biſhop of Dunkeld to inform the Engliſh cabinet of this imprudence: and Henry's higheſt diſpleaſure was threatened, in caſe ſhe ſtill delayed to comply with his demands. A fit ſtyle to be addreſſed to a ſovereign and independent princeſs! Norfolk, at the ſame time, deſired Magnus to ſtop all further payments, as the Engliſh council, enraged at the queen's conduct, had reſolved to ſupport Angus; a letter from Henry to the Scotiſh peers was threatened if ſhe perſiſted; and the embaſſador was deſired to deliver the above recited letter, and to thunder in her ears the open enmity of Henry in caſe of her obſtinacy [1]. Magnus
10 Nov. wrote to Wolſey [2] at great length, informing him that the queen not being very favourable to her brother, the embaſſadors had applied to the lords, and found the chancellor, a man crafty and changeable, affecting to liſten to England, though at the ſame time he evinced his knowledge of Wolſey's deſign to ſend him to Berwick to be impriſoned; he promiſed to ſerve Henry, and promote the reconciliation of Arran and Angus, who, as appears from a ſubſequent letter [3], had no real cauſe of diſſenſion, but Margaret inſtigated Arran to enmity, as a veil for her own hatred to her huſband: that the biſhop of Aberdeen was dubious; but Alexander Stuart, commendator of Scone and Inchaffray, the injured brother of Albany, Robert Cockburn biſhop of Dunkeld, the earl of Caſſils, and Adam

[1] C. Norfolk to Magnus and Ratcliffe, 8 Nov. VI, 374.

[2] O. Cal. B. VI, 329. The chancellor ſaid the cauſe of his impriſonment was his refuſal to ſign a deed, "for taking forth of the young king:" how then came his ſignature in the notarial copy above mentioned, 1 Aug. 1524?

[3] 15 Nov. B. VI, 333.

Otterburn

Otterburn one of the moſt learned and experienced men in Scotland, were all well affected to England: that the queen was very ill adviſed, but that the parliament, which was to meet next monday, might perhaps arrange the public affairs; that Robert Barton the comptroller, who enjoyed much of Margaret's favour, had attempted to ſow diſcord by complaining of the capture of a Scotiſh ſhip by the Engliſh; that ſhe even deſired Magnus and Ratcliffe to depart; and the novelty of their reſidence rather excited the jealouſy even of the lords, whoſe power appears, from various parts of this diſpatch, to have been regarded as equal to that of the queen. In another letter [4] they imparted to Wolſey the intelligence that their reſidence began to be more agreeable, by the addreſs they uſed with the queen; that the Scotiſh embaſſy was ready to proceed, but wanted money; that they endeavour to perſuade the chancellor to take the lead in this embaſſy, in order to render him ſuſpected to Albany; that Arran manifeſted no enmity to Angus, but ſaid that their union would effectually prevent Albany's return; that in the parliament, which commenced on the preceding day, the chancellor and the biſhop of Aberdeen were the chief leaders [5].

1524

15 Nov.

During the ſecond week of this parliament, on wedneſday the twenty-third of November, at four o'clock in the morning, the earls of Angus and Lennox, the *maſter* or heir of Kilmauris, Scot of Buccleugh not long ſince liberated, and other chiefs,

[4] O. 15 Nov. B. VI, 333.

[5] In a Scotiſh parliament the numerous clergy muſt ever have maintained a ſuperiority in debate over the unlearned peers. See the *orders* of this parliament, concerning the government, in Keith's Hiſt. App. p. 9. The *ſecret* council was to conſiſt of the chancellor, the biſhop of Aberdeen, and Arran, and Argyle. Albany's office is formally extinguiſhed: and the queen is declared chief of the council.

with

1524 with their followers, ſuddenly advanced to Edinburgh; and at that dead hour of winter a part ſcaled the walls, and opened the gates to the reſt, when the whole body, to the amount of about four hundred men, advanced to the croſs in the centre of the city, and proclaimed that they came as good ſubjects. Angus and his friends afterwards proceeded to the council of ſtate, conſiſting of the chancellor, the biſhops of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, Argyle, and other temporal peers, and deſired them to take the guardianſhip of the young king.

Meanwhile the caſtle began to diſcharge its artillery on the city, in order to expell the party of Angus; while the biſhop of Aberdeen, and the abbot of Cambuſkenneth, proceeded with Magnus the Engliſh embaſſador to the abbey, to beſeech the queen's orders to ſtop the fire of the fortreſs. They there found ſeveral peers, with four or five hundred followers, armed with hagbuts, and prepared to aſſault Angus. The queen admitted the biſhop and abbot, but ordered the embaſſador to retire, which he did, not without danger, as one ball had ſlain two tradeſmen, a woman, and a prieſt. Angus injured none; and upon receiving an order in the name of his ſovereign, he left the capital with his party, at four in the afternoon, and withdrew to Dalkeith. After his departure, Margaret and the king her ſon proceeded, by torch-light, from the abbey to the caſtle, where they remained, accompanied only by the ſecretary of Albany, and by Murray, who was warmly devoted to the French faction [6].

The Engliſh embaſſadors ſeem to narrate this as an unexpected event [7]; and there being no evidence that it was pre-

[6] O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolſey, 26 Nov. Cal. B. I, 121.

[7] Yet Sir Robert Barton, the comptroller, had notice of a plot, in a letter from Rothes, ſigned, "Rede and Ryve," (Read and Tear this letter, deſtroy it,) C. Cal. B. I, 81.

concerted

concerted by Wolſey, it is probable that it was an impulſe of 1524
reſentment, occaſioned by the excluſion of Angus and Lennox from the national council, or perhaps by ſome meaſures therein agitated againſt them, or their friends. It however appears that the chancellor, finding Albany's authority annulled by his nonappearance before the firſt of September, and conſidered as terminated by two ſucceſſive parliaments, reſolved to form a coalition with the party of Angus, as the only method by which he could hope to ſupport himſelf againſt the queen, who had injured him beyond hopes of concord; and his affinity with Arran only increaſed his ſentiments of vengeance againſt an inſult, in which that nobleman had joined with Margaret. Angus, now hopeleſs of reconcilement with the queen his wife, would eagerly liſten to the propoſals of the richeſt man in Scotland, and whoſe power he himſelf could alone equal[8]: and the plan, at the ſame time that it preſerved inviolate the chancellor's pride and independence, and prevented the odious charge of his open dereliction of Albany to embrace the Engliſh intereſt, alſo offered to Angus the ſureſt means of ſupporting that intereſt, and the nobleſt, as, by a conſolidation of internal power, it emancipated him from the capricious violence of Wolſey, an object of deteſtation even to the Engliſh peers, and to every ingenuous mind. This powerful coalition gradually undermined the party of Margaret and Arran, by ſteps preſently to be deſcribed; and aſſuming the cuſtody of the king, and the ſupreme power, continued in vigour for two years, till Angus, uſurping all the authority, only haſtened his own fall. The epoch of its commencement is therefore

[8] The earldom of Fife had been aſſigned to him by Albany, VI, 405. The Engliſh embaſſadors, II, 255, expreſsly mention his opulence, as ſuperior to that of any Scotiſh ſubject.

of

1524 of importance; and is clearly aſcertained from the diſpatch above narrated.

The queen and Arran, terrified by this unexpected event, could now only hope to maintain the aſcendant by Henry's
27 Nov. ſupport, and haſtened the embaſſy into England, conſiſting of the earl of Caſſils, Robert Cockburn biſhop of Dunkeld, and the abbot of Cambuſkenneth. Margaret inſtructed them [9] to repreſent to Henry that, being appointed by the laſt parliament the chief perſon in the council of ſtate aſſigned to James, ſhe muſt act with diſcretion, ſo as not to forfeit their confidence by ſhewing too ſtrong a diſpoſition towards England; that it could not be granted that France ſhould be omitted in the propoſed pacification, except the marriage offered by Henry between James and Mary were previouſly and finally determined, along with a perpetual peace; but a treaty only of years muſt embrace confederates. She remonſtrates againſt Henry's conduct, in permitting Angus to enter Scotland, and in ſoliciting the pope to aſſign Coldingham to his brother William, to the prejudice of her ſon's prerogative. The embaſſadors proceeding to the borders adjuſted with Dacre a truce
29 Nov. of two months [1]; and then paſſed to London, where the negotiations, perplexed with difficulties, were extended to great length; nor could the marriage be accompliſhed: but brief truces, and afterwards extended treaties, were to prolong the peace between the realms, with but one ſhort interruption,

[9] C. B. VI, 191. O. Margaret to Henry, 27 Nov. B. VII, 50. The commiſſion to the embaſſadors is dated 18 Nov. Rymer, XIV, 27; and they are empowered to treat of a marriage between James and Mary, the "filia et heres apparens" of Henry. Yet as early as September, Margaret had applied to Norfolk for 100*l.* to Caſſils, without which proviſion he could not proceed on his embaſſy. O. Norfolk to Wolſey, 19 Sept. VI, 361.

[1] Rymer, XIV, 28.

for

for a happy period of eighteen years, till the laſt year of the reign of James. 1524

To evince to Henry the ſincerity of their conduct, Margaret and Arran charged Marchmont herald to proceed to France, with inſtructions, and with letters to Francis and Albany, notifying that as the latter had not returned before the firſt of September, as ſtipulated, the three eſtates had, in ſolemn parliament, annulled his authority, and transferred the direction of affairs to the queen and a council: and deſiring that Albany would reſtore the artillery lodged in the caſtle of Dunbar: and that Francis would conſider the diſtreſſes which the Scotiſh commerce ſuffered upon his account, being expelled from England, Flanders, and Spain, and interrupted even in viſiting France by the numerous hoſtile veſſels [2]. This ſtep was deciſive; and if embraced in due time, and not from abſolute neceſſity, might have ſecured Henry's firm ſupport to his ſiſter's power. 11 Dec.

Meanwhile, the further reſidence of Ratcliffe being found unneceſſary, the Engliſh affairs, with the title of lord embaſſador, were left to Magnus, a man of eminent prudence and ability [3]. David Beton, nephew of the chancellor, and afterwards the famous cardinal, who had been ſent embaſſador to France in Auguſt, returned with the inſtructions from 16 Dec.

[2] Epiſt. R. S. I, 351—356, cloſing the firſt volume of theſe letters; and the ſecond unhappily only opens at Auguſt 1539, thoſe of the intervening period having periſhed.

The learned Ruddiman, notes on Buchanan, I, 448, concludes from this embaſſy that James was not in power till now; but the contrary is evident from innumerable proofs above adduced; and Ruddiman often errs in thoſe notes, from the want of materials, and not of induſtry.

[3] O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolſey, 29 Nov. B. II, 255. The title of lord embaſſador is given to Magnus, in many letters from perſons in Scotland to him.

1524 Francis above related, and which ſhewing the decline of his power contributed ſolely to reduce the French faction, which now conſiſted only of Gawin Dunbar archbiſhop of Glaſgow, James Hay biſhop of Roſs, and the earl of Murray its chief ſupport, as the death of Huntley had left to him the principal influence in the north of Scotland[4]: all thoſe had been favourites of Albany, and remained attached to him by gratitude or expectation. The queen retained the young monarch in the caſtle of Edinburgh, but without any perſonal guard[5]; while the chancellor and Angus only needed the king's preſence to aſſume the management of affairs; the citizens of the capital were inclined to their party, and the lofty and commanding fortreſs preſented to them a menacing front, and appeared like a beacon of civil war.

1525 Jan. Amid theſe conteſts the nation relapſed into diſorder, and the people were expoſed to conſtant rapine and aſſaſſination[6]. Arran, who alone, among the temporal lords, could boaſt of opulence, in vain ſet an example of ſingular merit in the ſtrict obſervance of the laws; and his orderly and decent deportment reſembled that then aſſumed by the Engliſh nobles[7]. The chancellor and Angus continued to inſiſt that the king ſhould not be kept in a kind of captivity by his mother, but ſhould be ruled by a council appointed by the three eſtates. They had withdrawn to St. Andrew's; and concerted the boldeſt and moſt deciſive meaſures againſt the queen. Caſſils, in the mean time, had returned from London for freſh inſtructions; and Margaret ſent to her brother ſome articles[8],

[4] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 22 Dec. B. II, 114.

[5] O. Patrick Sinclair to Norfolk, 31 Dec. B. I, 34. This confidential ſervant was alſo bribed, and declaims againſt the queen.

[6] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 9 Jan. B. II, 72. [7] Ibid.

[8] O. Cal. B. VIII, 18.

bearing

bearing that Henry muſt engage to wed his daughter to James when ſhe became fourteen years of age, for on no other ground would the Scotiſh peers conſent to abandon France: that, as the chancellor had openly declared againſt her, and half the realm was on his ſide, ſhe deſired that Norfolk might advance ten thouſand men to the frontiers; that money might be ſent to her and her ſon, while an agent on the borders ſhould retain three thouſand pounds, to defray the expence of a guard around James; that artillery and powder ſhould be remitted, as Albany had transferred thoſe of Scotland to Dunbar: ſhe concludes, with her uſual openneſs, that to Henry alone would ſhe offer ſuch terms. But, though the Engliſh monarch eagerly wiſhed the marriage, he could not liſten to ſuch propoſals, which he evidently ſaw were only extorted by the neceſſity of Margaret's affairs. Gouzolles the French embaſſador, by his reſidence at court, prevented many explanations between the queen and Magnus: but his national petulance began to give diſguſt; and one day, when Margaret was indiſpoſed, he uſed ſuch improper freedom among her ladies, that the ſpirit of Henry Stuart, her minion, was forced to interpoſe, by ſending a meſſage to the embaſſador inſtantly to leave the chamber, elſe he would throw him down ſtairs [9]. Magnus preſented to the queen the papal bulls obtained by Henry, aſſigning the diſpoſition of the benefices in Scotland to James; a great acceſſion of power, gained at the expence of Albany's future influence. The Engliſh envoy further propoſed to his maſter the ſettlement of penſions on the Scotiſh peers attached to England; but apparently without ſucceſs [1]. 1525

Margaret in vain endeavoured, by the mediation of Robert Barton the lord comptroller, to detach the biſhop of Aberdeen

[9] O. Magnus to Henry, 24 Jan. B. VI, 423. O. Magnus to Wolſey, ſame date, B. II, 88. [1] Ibid.

1525 from the confederated lords at St. Andrew's. The prelate anſwered that, as the queen had returned no reply to the articles offered by the peers, he could not adopt her cauſe, while the country could only be pacified by union among the nobles [2]. A proclamation was now fulminated from the caſtle of Edinburgh againſt the chancellor, the biſhop of Aberdeen, and the prior of St. Andrew's, a clergyman whoſe office was reputed equal in wealth to the archbiſhopric: the king was made to declare that having aſſumed the government, and great affairs being to be agitated on the return of Caſſils from England, he had invited the archbiſhop, the biſhop, and the prior, to his council; but they did not obey, holding conferences at St. Andrew's with Angus and Lennox, and with Argyle, whom they had won to their evil purpoſes; therefore death and confiſcation are held forth to all who ſhall join to ſupport their unjuſt cauſe [3]. On the other ſide, after employing twenty days in
25 Jan. deliberation, the peers at St. Andrew's iſſued a declaration [4], purporting that the king was kept in an unhealthy place, as the caſtle of Edinburgh, expoſed not only to every fury of tempeſt, but to the moiſt air of the northern lake, was then reputed; and that the continual tumults in the capital, and its vicinity, rendered their approach dangerous: they therefore ordain a convention of the three eſtates, to meet at Stirling on monday the ſixth day of February, as they had written to many prelates, lords, and great barons, deſiring their attend-

[2] C. Aberdeen to Barton, 24 Jan. B. I, 88. The lords had previouſly ſent an envoy with their propoſals to the queen, which ſee Cal. B. VII, 25, and her equivocating anſwer, ib. 23. Among other demands they require the abolition of the *fut band*, or guard of infantry, which attended on James; which was refuſed, as Albany had always a ſimilar defence. James IV ſeems to have diſmiſſed the guard, uſed by his two predeceſſors. [3] C. Cal. B. VII, 75.

[4] C. Cal. B. VI, 394.

ance;

ance [5]; and they declare that no letters of the king are to merit faith or obedience, till iſſued by a council choſen by the three eſtates. 1525

At the ſame time, as Caſſils had brought from Wolſey to the chancellor a large promiſe, that, if he embraced the Engliſh intereſt, he ſhould be appointed legate of Scotland, with the power of confirming all abbacies as Wolſey had in England [6], it was thought expedient to inform Henry of their proceedings, in a letter [7] bearing that the queen retained the ſole guidance of her ſon, and the management of his revenues, offices for which the imprudent counſels, which ſhe uſed, tended to diſqualify her; that ſhe would not grant them proper ſecurity for their ſafe appearance at Edinburgh: they therefore requeſt ſupport to their party, for if the queen will liſten to uſeful advice, and give a proper education to her ſon, ſhe ſhall remain chief of the council of ſtate; but if not they hope that Henry will forgive their proceeding to other meaſures. 26 Jan.

In a private letter [8] the chancellor requeſted Wolſey's influence with the pope, to prevent the archbiſhop of Glaſgow from procuring an exemption from his ſee of St. Andrew's. Magnus, the Engliſh embaſſador, exerted all his influence to conciliate the queen and the lords, and Angus wrote to him that he deſired nothing with more ardour [9]: the chancellor deſired to meet Magnus at Dunfermlin [1], and the conference paved the way to concord. 27 Jan.

But this was not effected till after Margaret had in vain propoſed to Arran, Murray, Eglinton, and Caſſils, who were Feb.

[5] See Cal. B. III, 60, the copy of a letter from Argyle to Drummond of Innerpeffery, 28 Jan. deſiring him to meet the lords at Stirling, for the benefit of the commonwealth.

[6] C. Inſtructions Wolſey to Caſſils, B. I, 135. [7] O. B. VI, 430.

[8] O. Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's to *my lord* of Cambuſkenneth (the abbot,) B. III, 68. [9] O. B. III, 71.

[1] O. Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's to Magnus, 28 Jan. B. VI, 400.

with

1525 with her in the caſtle of Edinburgh, to raiſe their followers, and give battle to her opponents: which they refuſed, except the king were to proceed with them; a propoſition not accepted by the queen, who dreaded that her ſon might thus eſcape from her cuſtody [2]. The magiſtrates and people of Edinburgh now invited Angus and Lennox to the capital; who arrived after midnight, with about ſeven hundred men, and were followed by the reſt of the party, who had now determined to hold a convention there, inſtead of Stirling, and to confirm the peace with England, a meaſure wiſhed by Magnus, who truſted them more than the queen's adherents [3]. The caſtle did not open its fire on the city, as was apprehended, the peers attached to Margaret beginning to wiſh for concord: Arran had a generous mind incapable of deadly enmity; Murray expected in marriage the daughter of Angus and the queen, and the ward of Huntley a young peer of extenſive poſſeſſions; Eglinton was aged, and had only ſought refuge in the caſtle as, on account of the ſlaughter of his ſon in the ſkirmiſh of 1520, a feud exiſted between his family and that of Angus: Caſſils expected to be appointed by parliament one of the peers attendant on the king; the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and the biſhop of Roſs, were notoriouſly addicted to the French faction, and lent but a dubious ſupport to Margaret; Maxwell was ſincerely attached to James, and expected the abbey of Melroſe for his ſon, or ſome kinſman [4]. The queen perceiving their fidelity doubtful, deſired Magnus to confer with Angus, and to promiſe that, if her power were reſerved, ſhe would again impart her favour to him [5]. The lords gave in propoſals, that James ſhould be brought from the caſtle, a kind of priſon, to the abbey a free palace; that the Scotiſh

[2] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 14 Feb. B. II, 112. [3] Ibid.
[4] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 22 Feb. B. II, 51. [5] Ibid.

benefices

benefices ſhould be diſpoſed by a council of ſix, or eight, peers, 1525
of which the queen was to be the chief, and have a caſting vote, while all under the value of one thouſand pounds were to continue at her ſole diſpoſal: that the guardianſhip of the king ſhould devolve to a council of peers, appointed by the parliament and preſided by Margaret: that Angus ſhould not on pain of treaſon aſpire to act as a huſband, either with regard to the queen's perſon or lands. Theſe offers having been ſuggeſted by Margaret were immediately accepted by her: Caſſils, 21 Feb.
Eglinton, and Magnus, being her negotiators [6]. The power thus eventually paſſed to the chancellor, and Angus; though Margaret retained her nominal authority for more than twelve months after this period.

Yet Magnus, who knew that ſhe had been the chief diſturber of the marriage treaty propoſed by Henry, (a treaty which might have proved advantageous to both countries, by uniting them half a century earlier under one ſovereign,) juſtly ſuſpected that ſhe "would have ſome private way by herſelf, as before [7]." For, on the day after the agreement was ſigned, 22 Feb.
Margaret ſent her confidential ſervant, John Cantaly [8], to Albany, with letters and inſtructions; which, on their remiſſion to Rome by the duke, in the enſuing June, with letters to the pontiff ſoliciting the queen's divorce, and the diſpoſal of the benefices of Scotland, were intercepted in the duchy of Milan, and ſent to England [9], where Margaret never afterwards found confidence or favour. She gives to Albany the appellation of regent; profeſſes her good intentions towards him and France;

[6] Ibid. and the various tranſactions relative to the agreement, B. III, 102.

[7] The ſame letter of Magnus to Wolſey.

[8] Archdeacon of St. Andrew's: ſee the letter from Albany to Octavian, about to be mentioned.

[9] See copies and extracts from the various letters, Cal. B. VI, 416.

that,

1525 that, though an embaſſy had been ſent to Henry, nothing ſhould be done, except France were comprehended: ſhe deſires to know what aid ſhe may expect from that kingdom, for ſhe cannot agree with Angus: and if France will aſſiſt her, ſhe will embrace the intereſts of that country, and ſhall in the mean time provide that no peace be made with England, till an anſwer be given: that, rather than be reconciled to Angus as her brother deſires, ſhe will leave Scotland: and ſhe concludes with requeſting ſtrict ſecrecy, and that her letters be not remitted to England, as had been done on a former occaſion. From theſe letters Albany ſeized an opportunity to inſtruct one Octavian, his agent at Rome, to repreſent to the pontiff that he was ſtill acknowledged regent of Scotland[1], and capacitated to reap the rich harveſt of preſentations to benefices; he at the ſame time deſired him to promote the queen's divorce, which the archdeacon of St. Andrew's had been ſent to Rome to ſolicit. It is impoſſible to vindicate the conduct of Margaret upon this occaſion, for it was nefarious in an eminent degree. To gratify her reſentments againſt her brother, and her avarice of French gold, ſhe attempts to promote a civil war; ſhe offers to ſacrifice the beſt intereſts of her ſon, the eternal advantages of his kingdom. This depravity muſt have ſtung her to the ſoul, when, in the courſe of a ſhort week or two, ſhe had occaſion to reflect that it was gratuitous and vain; as, within two days after the date of the inſtructions, Francis was lamenting in captivity the raſh field of Pavia, which threatened the ruin of his kingdom, and was

[1] Do the following expreſſions of Albany proceed from miſinformation, or an intention to miſlead? "L'on a fait Monſeigneur d'Angoux (Angus), en mon abſence, protecteur du pays."—"Le roi garde d'Arguil (Argyle), Chaſſelay (Caſſilis), et aultres grans perſonnages."—"Il me deſire plus que jamais."

for

for years to prevent ſuch exertions in Scotland as Margaret deſired. 1525

The agreement between the queen and the lords was no ſooner adjuſted, than a parliament met at Edinburgh. Angus bore the crown, Arran the ſceptre, Argyle the ſword; the firſt and ſecond of theſe peers being now reconciled, though Margaret wiſhed to prolong their diſſention [2]. One of the earlieſt tranſactions of this parliament was, to ratify the bond of concord. A council, denominated ſecret in the record, was 25 Feb. then choſen, to govern the king and the realm, conſiſting of the archbiſhops of St. Andrew's and Glaſgow, the biſhops of Aberdeen and Dumblane, the earls Angus, Arran, Argyle, Lennox; two of whom were to attend for three months in rotation, while the queen was to be the perpetual preſident, and to retain the caſting vote [3]. Several other favours were alſo granted to Margaret; but her authority henceforth became more nominal than real, the favour of Henry, its ſole ſupport, being transferred to the peers. Nor could the event be otherwiſe, when ſhe pertinaciouſly oppoſed her brother's warmeſt wiſh, the marriage treaty and perpetual peace; and even behaved to Magnus his embaſſador with contempt or neglect, except when ſhe could procure money from no other ſource [4]. To Angus ſhe now affected kindneſs, but ſolely with a view to perſuade him to conſent to a divorce, the object of her endeavours for ſeven years [5]. He, on the other hand, violated his engagements by applying to Wolſey [6] for 8 March the favour of England in his deſire to ſeize his wife's lands, and to be received as her huſband, as a reward for having won

[2] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 9 March, Cal. B. II, 47.
[3] Ibid. Keith's Hiſt. App. 9, 10. Craw. Off. 67. Leſl. 416.
[4] O. Magnus to Wolſey, B. II, 47. [5] Ibid.
[6] O. Angus to Wolſey, 8 March, B. I, 98.

1525 moſt of the Scotiſh peers from the intereſts of France. At the ſame time the chancellor informed the cardinal[7] that the young king was led aſtray by favourites, and his education was in many points become defective: but that his own endeavours ſhould not be wanting to promote the peace; for which purpoſe he offered to take the embaſſy on himſelf, and deſired a ſafe conduct for himſelf and a hundred attendants; he at the ſame time reminded Wolſey of the promiſed dignities, and expreſſed his obligations that the archbiſhop of Glaſgow had not been ſupported, in his claim of exemption from the metropolitan ſee.

While James, and ſome peers of the council, made a progreſs of juſtice on the north of the Tay, the chancellor and Angus remained at Edinburgh to repreſs the diſorders of the frontiers[8]. The latter anxiouſly maintained his correſpondence with Henry; and deſired that the ſmalleſt preſents, ſuch as bows, arrows, hunting horns, purſes, ſent by that king to his nephew, ſhould be tranſmitted through his hands, that he might win favor with James, and at the ſame time conciliate him with his uncle, againſt whom Margaret had

[7] O. James *Primate of Scotland* to Wolſey, 9 March 1525, B. VI, 425. Same to ſame, 15 March 1525, ib. 422. The reflections on James's education ſeem levelled at his rival the archbiſhop of Glaſgow; who alſo applied to Wolſey, to eſtabliſh his exemption from the juriſdiction of the primate, pleading among other points, "I was techour, and eruditor, to our ſoverand lord." O. 20 Feb. III, 135.

In another letter from Beton to Wolſey, 29 March, B. VII, 96, he repreſents that the defect in the commiſſion to Caſſils proceeded from the queen, and not from his party; but as the parliament had ſanctioned the peace, no other determination could be taken, except by another parliament: ſo that the Scotiſh parliament had decidedly, and directly, the grand right of peace or war. He requires a larger ſafe conduct, with power to paſs to other realms and to Rome; a form which he muſt have known could not be granted.

[8] O. Beton to Wolſey, 29 March, above quoted.

lately

lately much prejudiced his youthful mind [9]. The tidings of 1525
the battle of Pavia had now arrived in Scotland, to the great 31 Mar.
conſternation of the French faction: the queen did not even congratulate the Engliſh envoy [1]. But for this neglect there were more cogent cauſes than her attachment to France. Henry, irritated beyond meaſure at her private conduct, in endeavouring a divorce, and in her indecent love for Henry Stuart; and at her public, in thwarting all his ſchemes for a laſting peace with Scotland; indulged his imperious temper in a letter, replete with indignation and contempt. So poignant were its expreſſions that, on opening it, the tears guſhed into her eyes; ſhe could hardly read; and, after weeping for an hour, ſhe ſaid, "ſuch a letter was never written to a noble woman;" ſhe then informed Magnus that ſhe would receive no more letters from her brother, except in a placid ſtyle, for ſuch another would prove her death. Her duplicity in vain diſavowed all attachment to France, or Albany. She anſwered Henry with patient remonſtrances, being always too ſubmiſſive in adverſity, and too haughty in proſperity: her divorce ſhe repreſented as beyond her power to prevent, the papal mandates being arrived, and the plea in an advanced ſtate [2]. She afterwards joined her ſon at Dundee; and the peers of the April
council became not a little jealous of her influence over him [3]. Yet her adherents were few, conſiſting chiefly of thoſe formerly moſt attached to Albany; and ſhe in vain wiſhed for a

[9] O. Angus to Wolſey, 29 March, B. VI, 431.

[1] O. Magnus to Wolſey, Edin. 31 March, B. VII, 3. Angus rejoiced at the victory, and offered to attend Henry to France, with one thouſand followers: ib.

[2] Ibid. C. Margaret to Henry, B. VII, 65. She complains bitterly that, after loſing Albany's ſupport, ſhe ſhould be abandoned by Henry. But ſuch are the effects of duplicity.

[3] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 10 April, Cal. B. VII, 1.

1525 June war with England to be revenged on her adverſaries [4]. When the king returned to Edinburgh, ſhe would not approach the capital, alledging fear of Angus, and demanding from him a new ſecurity, that he ſhould not pretend to her perſon or lands [5]. Nor were the lords of the ſecret council ſtrictly concordant; for the chancellor's ambition prompting him to procure letters from the king to the pope, recommending his promotion to the rank of cardinal, Angus and Lennox were enraged at his aſpiring to ſuch ſuperiority [6].

The chancellor was little ſincere in his pretenſions of proceeding as embaſſador to England; and to cover his guile he deſired ſafe conducts in a form which could not be granted. But the truces had been gradually extended to the fifteenth day of May [7]; and thence were to be prolonged till October, when a pacification of three years was ordained. The marriage treaty was defeated by the queen's influence with her ſon. Nay, in the parliament which was held in July this year, ſhe refuſed to come to Edinburgh, in order to ratify a recent truce, as preſident of the council of ſtate, though ſecurity was offered

[4] O. Same to ſame, 19 April, B. VII, 61. Were the queen in authority again, ſays Magnus, ſhe will be too high, or too low, as before; now that ſhe can do little, ſhe wiſhes to pleaſe her brother, when much, not. He adds in cypher that Scotland is unprepared for war, ſo every exertion may be ſafely made againſt France. In another diſpatch of the 31ſt May, B. II, 35, Magnus informs Wolſey that Margaret perſiſts in her attachment to Henry Stuart, to weak counſellors, and to the French party; that he has paid Angus 100*l.* Scots (25*l.* ſt.) for his ſervices; that Lennox, a moſt powerful peer, is well inclined to England. The embaſſador had offered twenty marks ſterling of yearly rent, for his houſe in Edinburgh: and he deſires penſions from England, of 20*l.* a year each, to Patrick Sinclair, John Cheſolm, and Adam Ottirburn.

[5] O. Angus to Henry, 8 June, Cal. B. I, 91. C. Robert Logan to Magnus, B. III, 136. [6] Logan to Magnus, ib.

[7] Rymer, XIV, 35. A letter of Beton to Dacre on the ſubject, 28 May 1525, occurs in Cal. B. VII, 56.

for

for her ſafety; upon which it was openly propoſed to deprive her of her authority: but James laudably anſwered, in her defence, that the fault was too light for ſuch a puniſhment, and that her ſignature might be delayed. It was therefore ſettled that the deed ſhould be eſteemed valid without her name, if not affixed within a certain time [8]. She was now in treaty with Louiſa of Savoy, mother of Francis, and regent of his kingdom during his captivity, expecting from the congeniality of ſex, and character, a more ſucceſsful negotiation. Margaret repreſented herſelf as poſſeſſing the government of Scotland; and offered to bind that country in a firm alliance with France, on condition of a ſum of money paid down, and an annual penſion [9]. She was moſt unfortunate in her procedures, for an alliance between France and England was now in deliberation, and was actually ſigned on the thirtieth of Auguſt [1]; Wolſey being enraged againſt the emperor, becauſe he was diſappointed in his expectation of the pontifical chair. Magnus in the mean time found his reſidence in Scotland diſagreeable, heinous murders abounding even in the capital, where he was ſo odious to a ſuperſtitious populace, that he was inſulted; and even the bad harveſt weather was imputed to the portentous appearance of an Engliſh envoy, reſiding in Scotland for near twelve months [2]. Yet he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the preſident of Tholouſe, embaſſador from France, received with great coldneſs by James, having probably omitted any pecuniary ſupply [3].

1525. Aug. Sept.

The perpetual peace between England and France extinguiſhed for a time the hopes and purſuits of the French faction,

[8] O. Magnus to Wolſey, Edin. 9 Aug. Cal. B. III, 169. For this parliament ſee Keith's Hiſt. App. p. 10; Carmichael's Tracts, Edin. 1791, 4to, p. 95; the lords of the articles were Angus, Arran, Argyle, Morton, Lennox, Murray, Caſſils. It met on the 10th July.

[9] O. Magnus to Wolſey, Edin. 9 Sept. B. II, 63.

[1] Rymer, XIV, 48. [2] O. Magnus to Wolſey, Sept. B. II, 61.

[3] O. Same to ſame, 9 Sept. II, 63.

and

1525 and opened the way for a more ſolid pacification between Henry and James. Accordingly the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and the earl of Angus, with other commiſſioners, proceeded
10 Oct. to Berwick, where a truce of three years was determined, the authentic inſtruments to be interchanged by the middle of the enſuing January, from which period the term of peace was to be reckoned [4].

The death of the able and experienced lord Dacre of Gilleſland, or of the north, deſerves a memorial from a work ſo much indebted to his writings [5]. His intrigues were however no longer neceſſary to maintain the ſuperiority of the Engliſh influence in Scotland. Margaret was to retain but for a few months of the ſucceeding year the preſidency of the ſecret council, and the nominal chief power: the chancellor and Angus, whoſe aſcendant ſucceeded, were to manifeſt more firm devotion to England.

1526 In vain did the queen and Arran, to whoſe views of eſtabliſhing a connection with France the pacification with England was deſtructive, uſe every effort to defeat the completion of that tranſaction. Margaret's enmity to her brother was extreme; nor did the alliance, which he had juſt concluded with France, prevent her from endeavouring to kindle a war between England and Scotland, by which alone ſhe could hope to deſtroy the Engliſh influence which ſupported her enemies. Arran, though in appearance reconciled to Angus, remained firmly attached to Margaret; and ſhared her reſentment againſt Henry, whoſe confidence he had never won, and whom he

[4] See Rymer, XIV, 114.

[5] O. Cumberland to Wolſey, 14 Nov. B. VII, 59. O. Council at York to Wolſey, 22 Nov. ib. 71. Thomas lord Dacre died on the 25th Oct. 1525. Dugdale's Bar. art. Dacre of the North. Naworth caſtle was the chief reſidence. The eſtates afterwards paſſed, by marriage, to the Howards earls of Carliſle.

had

had irritated by his pride during his ſhort-lived power. James had no ſooner ſigned the commiſſion for completing the peace of October [6], than his mother, who had, from the fear of Angus, remained in the north of Scotland, and Arran who had retired to his eſtates on the weſt, reſolved to have recourſe even to force, in order to prevent the ratification of the treaty. Nor was their faction unformidable, the queen having ſecured the attachment of Murray, now the moſt powerful peer in the north; while Arran was already joined by Eglinton, Roſs, Sempil, Evandale, Home, and others [7]. The latter peers advanced to Linlithgow, with their followers, to the amount of four or five thouſand, where they awaited the arrival of Margaret and Murray for ſome days; and at the ſame time probably expected the junction of a far greater number of the diſcontented. The hope was vain; the delay was ruinous. The chancellor, and the biſhop of Aberdeen, having in vain attempted to conciliate the parties, James himſelf, accompanied by Angus, Argyle, and Lennox, and about five thouſand men, advanced through the ſnows of winter againſt the rebels. No ſooner did the royal ſtandard flaſh in their eyes than they fled. Margaret and Murray, advancing too late, ſhe could only join in the flight of Arran to Hamilton; while Murray, affecting to believe that the queen had deceived him by miſrepreſentation, proceeded to Linlithgow, and joined the party of Angus. The latter peer, in informing Magnus of this event, aſſures him that he ſhall ſtill endeavour to be reconciled with the queen, and ſhall not challenge her conduct upon this occaſion [8].

1526 6 Jan.

10 Jan.

about 17 Jan.

[6] Rymer, XIV, 113.

[7] O. Magnus to Wolſey, Edin. 11 Jan. 1526, Cal. B. II, 114. O. Angus to Magnus, 20 Jan. B. II, 249. O. Ottirburn to Magnus, 19 Jan. ib. 250.

[8] Ibid. particularly Angus to Magnus. Leſley, 417, 418, is erroneous and unchronological: he confounds ſome circumſtances with thoſe of the conteſt in September this year.

The

1526 The pacification of three years with England was concluded on the fifteenth of January; and was ratified by James on the twelfth day of February [9]. Magnus, in an intereſting letter
11 Feb. to the queen on this occaſion [1], ſent her the clauſe in which Henry had inſiſted on a proviſion for her, ſuitable to her high ſtation, and that her conjunct feofments ſhould be continued: he alſo informs her that if Angus ſhould, as her huſband, claim the feofment, it was evinced by the chancellor, the biſhop of Aberdeen, and other lords of the council, that ſhe had ſufficient cauſes for a divorce, and that Angus ſhould be obliged to conſent; or ſhould agree to ſubmit the arrangement of the endowed lands wholly to the direction of James and the council; nay he had himſelf offered to ſubmit any matter in diſpute to her own brother. The embaſſador therefore adviſes her to concord and tranquillity: and informs her of ſome points concealed from her by flattery, ſuch as that ſhe embittered the mind of the king, who uſed often to ſhed tears, and ſhew anger to the lords, when he remained with her, whereas no ſuch ſymptoms had appeared ſince ſhe had reſided in the north: he therefore hopes that, when ſhe meets her ſon again, ſhe will adviſe him to be gracious to the peers, and that ſhe will not join any party in their diſputes.

The period, and manner, in which Angus uſurped the ſupreme power in the ſtate, which he maintained for two years, have been moſt inaccurately detailed by our hiſtorians, ancient and modern. Nor do our original letters throw much light on this intereſting event; while on his fall they dart a complete effulgence. In attempting to ſupply the want of materials, ſome previous conſiderations muſt be admitted. By the act

[9] Rymer, XIV, 115, 122.

[1] C. Cal. B. VII, 38. The rarity of the original letters now commences; and continues, with the exception of 1528, to the end of this reign.

of

of July 1525[2], Angus and the archbiſhop of Glaſgow were to remain with the king till the firſt of November; Arran and the biſhop of Aberdeen till the beginning of February 1526; the chancellor and Argyle till May; Lennox and the biſhop of Dumblane till Auguſt; when the circle recommenced. But Angus was alſo warden of the marches, an office attended with great authority: while on the other hand in the abſence of the queen, who could not venture to approach the capital, a chief ſeat of the influence of Angus, the chancellor appears to have been perpetual preſident of the council of ſtate; and Magnus ever mentions, and addreſſes, him as poſſeſſed of the higheſt power. During the affair of Linlithgow the earl of Arran ought to have been with the king in the capital; but as Angus had haſtened to conclude the peace with England before his quarter expired, ſo he feared that Arran would defeat that meaſure during his period of power, and ſeems to have uſed ſuch endeavours againſt that peer's aſſertion of his right, that he was forced to an ineffectual recourſe to arms. In the field which enſued, Angus only appears to have marched by the deſire of the chancellor and council, (and particularly the biſhop of Aberdeen who was joined with Arran,) in order to defeat an attempt to overturn their deciſions concerning the pacification; nor is any crime on this account imputed to him in his forfeiture, or by our hiſtorians. The council of ſtate continued to exerciſe its full power, even againſt Angus himſelf. Magnus addreſſed the chancellor, and the council[3], particularly the biſhop of Aberdeen, Argyle and Lennox, in a warm remonſtrance againſt Angus in his capacity of warden of the marches, who had received ſufficient redreſs from the

1526

11 Feb.

[2] See it in Keith's Hiſt. App. p. 10.

[3] C. Cal. B. VII, 48, and the diſtinct letters to the lords, C. Cal. B. VII, 46.

1526 Engliſh warden the earl of Weſtmoreland, but had granted none in return, being influenced to this injuſtice by Scot of Buccleugh and Mark Ker; he therefore deſires the council to replace the good order, which prevailed before Angus was warden, as the poor on the marches were undone by his non-attendance on the march days. The council anſwered that
16 Feb. they had ſharply reprimanded Angus; and he had promiſed to comply with their injunctions for redreſs [4]. The particular anſwers of the chancellor, the biſhop of Aberdeen, Argyle, and Lennox, are alſo extant [5], all to the ſame purport: and Aberdeen expreſſes the firm inclination of the Scots to maintain the peace juſt ratified; and the deſire of James that his mother ſhould have a proper ſecurity from Angus, that ſhe ſhould not be moleſted in her perſon or lands. The em-
1 March baſſador ſoon after repreſented to Wolſey that the chancellor being the moſt powerful man in Scotland, and now the chief friend of the Engliſh intereſt, he ſhould endeavour to accompliſh his promiſes of procuring for him, from the pontiff, the dignities of cardinal and legate [6]: but Wolſey's envy was little inclined to ſuch equality of title.

Angus, who appears to have retained his high honour of huſband to the queen, ſolely with a view to enjoy her revenues, finding that this uſurpation was not to be continued, without forfeiting Henry's favour; a clauſe of the late peace, and the deciſion of the council alſo oppoſing his avaricious views, at length conſented to the divorce, which was pronounced by the chancellor at St. Andrew's, upon the vain ground of a previous

[4] O. Cal. B. VII, 30. The matter was "put ſharply to his charge." The diſorders of Lidſdale they impute to the minority of the earl of Bothwell: the prior of St. Andrew's was his guardian. This paper is ſigned "Gude, de mandato dominorum ſecreti concilii."

[5] All originals, ib. 32, 33, 36. [6] O. Cal. B. II, 99.

promiſe

promiſe of marriage by Angus to another lady [7], while all the nation knew that ſolid grounds of ſeparation aroſe from the adulteries of both. Hardly was the divorce pronounced before Margaret wedded Henry Stuart her paramour, afterwards to be created lord Methven [8]. Henry her brother, now perhaps revolving his own divorce from Catherine of Arragon, could not reprobate the example, but envied her change of ſituation, while he deſpiſed the meanneſs of her nuptials. Yet James, incenſed at Stuart's preſumption, the marriage having been private, and the royal conſent not requeſted, ſent lord Erſkine with a body of men to the caſtle of Stirling, where his mother reſided with her new huſband; and Margaret ſurrendering him, he was impriſoned for a time [9]. 1526 March

At this epoch Angus was on the borders, whither he had marched to repreſs the diſorders of the Armſtrongs, then the moſt powerful and ferocious of the clans on the frontiers; but being protected by the Kers of Tividale, and by lord Maxwell, the warden of the weſtern marches, the freebooters defied his power [1]. Magnus, the Engliſh embaſſador, now left Scotland, after a reſidence of a year and a half; during which he had conducted the affairs entruſted to his care with eminent moderation and ability. April

The conſideration of the ſteps which led Angus to the ſupreme power muſt now be reſumed. He had ſedulouſly cultivated the favour of the young king, by preſents, and by every attention and indulgence, which could ſecure his unexperienced affections; and the neceſſary reſidence of the monarch in the

[7] Leſl. 419. [8] Ibid. O. Lord William Dacre to Wolſey, 2 April, Cal. B. VII, 28. [9] Letter laſt quoted.

[1] Ibid. The Scotiſh council had iſſued a proclamation of ſtrict neutrality, towards the ſhips of France, and thoſe of Spain and Flanders, ſubject to the emperor, then at war with their ancient ally: ib.

1526 capital, where, as in all the ſouth of Scotland, the influence of Angus was unrivalled, further promoted his deſign. James regarded the marriage of his mother as an inſult; and the variance was increaſed by her rage at the impriſonment of her huſband. Amid theſe diſpoſitions, Angus was ſecure of his aſcendant over the king's mind; and the ſecret council formed the only obſtacle to his ambition. By ſome precedents in France and Scotland the majority of a monarch was determined to commence at his fourteenth year, which James had attained in the preceding April; the object therefore was to ſummon a parliament, in which the majority of James ſhould be declared, and the powers of the ſecret council in conſequence annulled. Nor could either the parliament, or council, oppoſe with decency a decree ſtrictly conſtitutional, and agreeable to the wiſh of the nation, diſguſted with the conſtant ſtruggles, and with the diſcordant meaſures, of ſucceſſive juntos.

Angus having prepared his plan, a parliament met at Edin-
17 June burgh, on the thirteenth of June [2]; and on the fifth day of its ſeſſion, paſſed an ordinance [3], bearing that as the king had now attained his complete majority of fourteen years, the whole regal prerogatives reſted in his own hands: and all other authority, formerly uſed in his name, is declared to be terminated. This decree, for the cauſes above recited, in fact threw the ſupreme power into the hands of Angus.

The precipitate marriage of Margaret ruined her influence; and Arran had abandoned her deſperate cauſe to join the chancellor, his relation, and Angus. This acceſſion afforded a

[2] Carm. Tracts, p. 91.

[3] See it in Crawford's Officers, p. 67, 68. In the letters of July 1528, (ſee that epoch,) and the act againſt Angus, July 1528, Crawf. 70, it is mentioned that he had retained his power for TWO YEARS; ſo that the commencement of his authority is aſcertained beyond doubt.

great

great additional weight of power, and Angus carefully endea- 1526
voured to preſerve the attachment of Arran. The chancellor
was now leſs neceſſary to the ſupport of Angus, who began to manifeſt his aſcendancy by heaping royal favours upon his own family, and by neglecting the chancellor, and ſome other members of the late council, who had expected to ſhare the ſpoils. The impetuous nature of Sir George Douglas, brother to Angus, and by whoſe councils he was wholly guided, changed his influence over the king into a kind of conſtraint; and James ſighed when he beheld his former flatterers transformed into his goalers [4]. The ancient power of the Douglaſes ſeemed to have revived, and after a ſlumber of near a century, again to threaten deſtruction to the Scotiſh monarchy.

On his firſt aſſumption of the authority, Angus had excited diſcontent by aſſigning the opulent abbacy of Holyrood-houſe to William, his brother, who already poſſeſſed by intruſion that of Coldingham [5]. The faction, and even the name of the leader, were further ſtained by the baſe aſſaſſination of Patrick Blackader, archdeacon of Dumblane, couſin of the prior of Coldingham, whoſe murder by Home of Wedderburn is above narrated. Patrick, though he had a ſafe conduct from Angus to come to Edinburgh, was ſlain by the Homes and Douglaſes, at the very gates of the capital [6].

Meanwhile the diſorders of the Armſtrongs, and other marauders on the frontiers, continuing, Angus reſolved to conduct the king in perſon to repreſs them. James, having advanced to Jedburgh, remained there three days without much effect: and, on the fourth day, was returning by Mel- 25 July
roſe, when on a ſudden, Walter Scot of Buccleugh appeared,

[4] This previous information, neceſſary to the clearneſs of the narrative, will be authenticated by ſubſequent letters. [5] Buch. XIV, 26.

[6] Ibid. See the particulars in Hume's Houſe of Douglas, I, 86, 87.

with

1526 with a thouſand armed followers. This powerful border chieftain was a retainer of Lennox, a circumſtance which unites with ſucceeding events, to vindicate the opinion entertained by our hiſtorians, that Buccleugh intended to reſcue the king from the inferior force of Angus. A meſſenger paſſed to Scot to enquire the reaſon of his appearance with ſuch a company. The anſwer was, that he only deſigned to ſhew his bands to the king, as not unuſual among the border chieftains, when that part of his dominions was graced with the royal preſence. He was then commanded, in the name of the monarch, to diſmiſs his followers: but he replied that he was better informed of the king's intentions. Angus, perceiving a conflict unavoidable, ordered his followers, (many of whom were gentlemen, who, by their armour and courage, ſupplied the inferiority of number,) to alight, as uſual with the Scots, who rarely fought on horſeback, excepting the trained cavalry, whoſe weapons were peculiar, and whoſe ſteeds were enured to the noiſe and tumult of battle. Lennox, Maxwell, and Sir George Douglas formed a guard around James, who retired to an eminence. Angus, Fleming, Home, Ker of Ceſsford, led on their bands againſt thoſe of Buccleugh, now alſo alighted from their ſteeds. The conflict was brief: Buccleugh's borderers, after throwing their ſpears, fled in confuſion, and about eighty of them were ſlain: their chief, after a ſtrenuous conteſt, were forced to retire, but not without the ſlaughter of many of his enemies. The death of Ker of Ceſsford, a man of worth, was regreted by both parties [7].

Angus triumphed in his victory: and Lennox, being ſuſpected, retired from the court. The chancellor meanwhile found his power diminiſhed by Angus, who had even conſtrained

[7] Leſl. 419—421. Buch. XIV, 27. Lindſay, 210.

James

James to write to Henry, and the pope, that Beton having 1526
endeavoured to render him a captive in his own dominions, he had been obliged to have recourſe to the protection of the Douglaſes [8]: and the artful primate projected a more deciſive plan of delivering the king, and regaining his own influence. James therefore ſent letters to his mother, the chancellor, and Lennox, teſtifying his deſire of freedom [9]: and the queen in vain wrote to her brother, and to Wolſey, as in the name of 21 Aug.
her ſon, to deſire aſſiſtance againſt Angus [1].

Meanwhile Lennox was preparing for a deciſive effort, to redeem his ſovereign from the power of the Douglaſes; and being a man of the moſt amiable manners, and excellent character, his people crowded to his ſtandard. Many bands from Fife, and the north, inſtigated by the queen and the chancellor, alſo ſwelled his army. With a force of ten or twelve thouſand [2] he advanced to Stirling, where he concerted matters with the chancellor, and other lords attached to his cauſe; and thence towards Linlithgow, where he found Arran, who had proceeded by the deſire of Angus, with more than an equal number. It was hoped by the Douglaſes that, as Lennox was the ſiſter's ſon of Arran, their affinity might induce the former to liſten to the interceſſion of his uncle, whoſe force was beſides ſufficient to ſhew that the enterprize was vain; and that thereby the envy of a conteſt with Lennox, a peer univerſally beloved, might have been averted. But this hope proved fallacious; 3 Sept.
the rage of Lennox being increaſed by his kinſman, and friend, appearing as his open enemy, and in defence of a cauſe, in

[8] O. Margaret to Henry, 21 Aug. B. VIII, 159. [9] Ibid.

[1] Ibid. and O. Margaret to Wolſey, ib. 160.

[2] Lindſay, 212, ſeems exact in his enumeration: "multo eoque lectiſſimo milite," ſays Leſley, 421: Buch. XIV, 28, alſo ſpeaks of a great number.

itſelf

1526 itſelf unjuſt, and to him perſonally oppreſſive. Arran, perceiving the negotiation fruitleſs, diſpatched as had been ſettled between them a meſſenger to Angus, then at Edinburgh, with
4 Sept. the king. The trumpets inſtantly ſounded to arms; the royal ſtandard was unfurled; and James was forced to mount his horſe, and lead the bands of Douglas againſt his own friends. On pretext of indiſpoſition he delayed the march as much as poſſible; and the impatience of Angus advanced, leaving the king to the care of ſir George his brother, whoſe violent ſpirit gave on this occaſion an offence to the mind of his young ſovereign never to be eradicated. For, on paſſing Corſtorphin, the ſound of the artillery was heard announcing the commencement of the conflict; and ſir George having in vain intreated the king to uſe ſpeed, he at length burſt into this raſh expreſſion, "Should our enemies vanquiſh, rather than ſurrender your perſon, we ſhould tear you in halves.[3]"

Arran had ſeized the bridge acroſs the river Avon, about a mile to the weſt of Linlithgow, ſo that Lennox was forced to have recourſe to the ford oppoſite to the nunnery of Manuel. His men were harraſſed by the difficult paſſage; and their adverſaries poſſeſſing the adjacent heights, the diſadvantage of the combat was great. But when the ſhout of Douglas! aroſe, upon the approach of Angus, the troops of Lennox yielded or fled. The king had in vain diſpatched ſir Andrew Wood, to requeſt that the life of Lennox might be ſaved. On advancing into the field, Arran was found weeping over the body of his ſlaughtered kinſman, upon which he had ſpread his ſcarlet cloke, and exclaiming with anguiſh, "The wiſeſt, the beſt, the braveſt man in Scotland has fallen!" Beſides Lennox, there

[3] Buch. XIV, 28, confirmed by Leſley, 422.

were

were ſlain the abbots of Melroſe and Dunfermlin, the baron of Houſton, and Stirling of Keir [4]. 1526

Angus availed himſelf of this victory, which ſecured to him the chief power of Scotland, and marched to Stirling, to ſeize the queen, and the chancellor [5]. But they had fled to ſecret places; and Angus, advancing to Fife, pillaged the abbey of Dunfermlin, and the caſtle of St. Andrew's, while the chancellor, if we credit Lindſay, lurked among the mountains in the diſguiſe of a ſhepherd [6].

Henry congratulated Angus, and Arran, on their victory; 21 Sept.
promiſed them his advices concerning the proper education of his nephew; and exhorted them to cruſh their enemies, among whom he points out the chancellor as the chief, and as a man who ſought their deſtruction, and endeavoured to plunge his country into the abyſſes of war [7].

Thus encouraged, Angus iſſued the royal writs for a parliament, which met at Edinburgh on the twelfth of November; Nov.
and proceeded to paſs an act in vindication of the conduct of Angus and Arran in the late battle againſt Lennox [8]: and ample

[4] Lindſay, 215, Leſl. 422, Buch. ib. Magnus, now in England, in a letter to Wolſey, 13 Sept. B. II, 107, mentions thoſe names; but Stirling of Keir may be doubted, as in Sept. 1528 John Stirling of Keir had his forfeited property reſtored: Scotſt. Cal. Yet he might be the heir. Magnus adds that Angus and Arran had been in concord, ever ſince the ſlaughter of ſir Patrick Hamilton by Angus had been compromiſed.

Lennox was ſlain by ſir James Hamilton, after he had yielded. Lindſay, ib.

[5] Leſl. 422. [6] Leſl. ib. Lindſay, 216, "but they could not find the biſhop, for he was keeping ſheep on Bogrian-*now* (hill,) with ſhepherd's clothes upon him, like as he had been a ſhepherd himſelf."

[7] O. Sir Thomas More to Wolſey, 21 Sept. B. VII, 67, with Henry's orders to that effect.

[8] To be found in Crawford's Officers, App. p. 437. The preciſe date of the commencement of this parliament occurs in a letter of Chriſtopher Dacre

1526 ample forfeitures againſt all the enemies of the houſe of Douglas. James interceded for his mother, and even invited her to Edinburgh, where ſhe arrived on the twentieth day of the month, the king with a numerous train advancing to meet her. The ſkillful chancellor made his peace with Angus and Arran, by affected ſubmiſſion, and by giving to the former two thouſand marks, to the latter the abbey of Kilwinning. But the lands of the earl of Caſſils, and lord Evandale, were aſſigned to the cuſtody of Arran; while thoſe of lord Lindſay, and all thoſe chiefs of the eaſt and north, who had been in the field with Lennox, were given to Angus; the two victorious peers being to adjuſt their ranſom at their pleaſure. Thoſe of Stirling of Keir were forfeited, and beſtowed on ſir George Douglas. Argyle and Crawford did not appear in this parliament, being probably ſuſpected of favouring the cauſe of Lennox. After having ſitten for fourteen days, the national council was "continued with all the ſummonſes of the three eſtates," or in other words, was prorogued, till the eighth day of January [9]. The country was in the mean time a prey to all manner of injuſtice, the favour of a Douglas being ſuperior to all law. A baron who had ſlain another at the door of St. Giles's, the chief church in the capital, had the effrontery to walk in the ſtreets of Edinburgh during the whole ſeſſion of parliament [1]. But the people flattered themſelves

to lord Dacre, 2 Dec. B. VI, 420: ſee alſo Carmichael's Tracts, p. 91, and the Acts of 1567, edit. 1575, f. v. 23, for a ſtatute of this ſeſſion againſt incendiaries.

[9] All theſe particulars are derived from the letter laſt quoted, Cal. B. VI, 420.

[1] Ibid. "The laird of Langthenbar, who ſlew the laird of Bondbye." Maclane of Bomby ſlain by ſir John Campbell? Leſl. 422. Douglas, Peerage, 369, mentions a remiſſion, 1529, to ſir James Gordon of Lochinvar, ſir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, and 37 others, for the ſlaughter of Maclellan of Bomby, committed in the city of Edinburgh.

that,

that, if Margaret remained with her ſon, a change of meaſures might ſucceed; for it was publicly known that the king had no affection for Angus nor Arran[2]. Offices were now crowded upon the houſe of Douglas: ſir Archibald Douglas of Kilſpindy, uncle to Angus, was appointed lord treaſurer[3]; and ſir George Douglas, maſter of the royal houſehold[4]. Arran advanced in years and ſtung with repentance for the death of Lennox, now left the court, and abandoned the government wholly to Angus[5]. 1526

Of the meeting of parliament in January no memorial remains. Margaret continued at Edinburgh with her ſon; but the univerſal awe of the houſe of Douglas was now too great, the diſaſters which its enmity inferred too recent, for any new ſcheme to be undertaken for the deliverance of James, which ſeemed hopeleſs. Among the king's favourites Patrick Sinclair[6] was the chief: he had been truſted by his mother, and James long continued his attachment to his name, which in the end became fatal to his reign: but the origin of this favoritiſm is not explained. The queen having inſiſted that lady Evandale, her huſband's mother, ſhould be received at court, James rejected her requeſt, upon which ſhe left Edinburgh in diſguſt[7]. 1527 March

A parliament met in May[8]; but its tranſactions are unrecorded. The diſorders on the frontiers ſtill continuing, ſo as to

[2] Letter, B. VI, 420.

[3] Crawf. Off. 371, from the grant dated 29 Oct. 1526. [4] Lindſay, 205.

[5] As appears from his being unmentioned, till the king aſſumed the power in July 1528. Arran had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſince the year 1500.

[6] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 26 March, Cal. B. III, 301.

[7] Ibid. The archbiſhop Beton had retired from the court.

[8] Carmichael's Tracts, p. 91, where it is remarkable that Caſſils is mentioned as preſent, though his lands were aſſigned to Arran in the preceding November,

1527 May to threaten an interruption of the peace with England, which Angus ſedulouſly maintained, it was eſteemed indiſpenſable to ſuppreſs them. Preparations were accordingly made; and the bands of Angus and Arran had marched to Edinburgh to attend the king, when an unexpected incident had almoſt turned their ſwords upon each other. A groom of the late earl of Lennox, of heroic attachment to his maſter, who had fallen by the cruel hand of ſir James Hamilton after he had yielded, came to Edinburgh; where, meeting a fellow ſervant, he enquired if he had ſeen the baſtard of Arran? being anſwered in the affirmative, he replied, "Ungrateful wretch! couldſt thou behold the murderer of our maſter without ſtabbing him to the heart? Begone; diſgrace me not by thy baſe company." He then proceeded to the palace of Holyroodhouſe, in the open area before which not leſs than two thouſand attendants of the houſes of Douglas and Hamilton were, at that hour, muſtered for the expedition. Piercing through the crowd, he

(Letter of Chriſtopher Dacre:) and according to Leſley, he was ſlain by the ſheriff of Air, ſoon after the death of Lennox in 1526. Buchanan, who was tutor to his ſon, (Life, p. 2,) narrates XIV, 30, the death of Caſſils, aſſaſſinated by Hugh Campbell ſheriff of Air, at ſome length, and he fixes it at the ſame epoch. It may be thought that he of 1527 was the heir, but he was "adhuc impubes," Buch. XIV, 30; and the name does not appear again in the rolls of parliament, till 1535, Carm. 92. As Chriſtopher Dacre is ſilent concerning the death of Caſſils, and the records mention him in May 1527, it may be ſuſpected that Leſley and Buchanan err in the year; and that he was not ſlain till towards the end of 1527. Douglas, Peer. 136, ſeems rightly to ſay that he was murdered at Preſtick, 22 Dec. 1527.

It is remarkable that, in Dec. 1544, a remiſſion was iſſued in parliament to William earl of Glencairn, Gilbert earl of Caſſils, and Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, ſheriff of Air, for all treaſons committed by them during the reign of James V. Epiſt. R. S. II, 320. It may ſeem that Campbell ſucceeded ſir James Hamilton as ſheriff of Air in 1540, and is ſo ſtyled by hiſtorians at 1526, only by an unchronological, though common, mode of language.

ſaw

ſaw ſir James Hamilton, alone and unarmed, leave his people, 1527
and enter the palace by a dark ſtaircaſe near the gate: he inſtantly followed, and attacking the object of his revenge, he left him extended with ſix ſevere wounds, none of which however proved mortal, and then ſprung over among the populace. An alarm ariſing, the Douglaſes and Hamiltons began to ſuſpect each other, and a private revenge might have ſerved the nation, had not the more prudent ordered the gates of the area to be ſhut, and the crowd to arrange themſelves along the walls. Diſcovered by his bloody dagger, the generous aſſaſſin was ſeized, and conducted to goal; where, on menaces of the torture, he confeſſed that his ſole motive was to avenge his maſter's fall, his ſole regret that he had not ſucceeded. He was put to death with cruel torments, none of which had any power over his firm mind; and when his right hand was cut off, he ſaid, with a ſarcaſtic ſmile, that it deſerved its fate for fulfilling ſo ill ſo bold an intent [9].

The king, proceeding to Jedburgh, conſtrained the borderers, particularly the Armſtrongs, a clan rendered opulent by their frequent ſpoils in England, to give pledges for their peaceable behaviour; and then diſmiſſed them with ſtrict in- 7 June.
junctions, and the ſevereſt menaces in caſe of future diſobedience [1]. Angus had apparently aſſumed the office of chancellor at the commencement of the parliament of May, having at length withdrawn the ſeals from Beton, after in vain attempting to unite that rich and powerful primate to his party; and it is certain that in Auguſt the earl appears in that high ſtation [2]. This additional power only increaſed the conſtraint of James; who in vain repeatedly applied to his uncle to aſſiſt in his de-

[9] Buch. XIV, 31. Leſl. 426.
[1] Leſl. 426.
[2] Crawf. Off. 68, from a charter in the Scotiſh archives, dated 8 Aug. 1527.

liverance;

1527 liverance; while Henry was rather diſpoſed to prolong the power of the Douglaſes, who continued to manifeſt the warmeſt devotion to his intereſt.

Some events worthy of commemoration happened in the northern provinces. The houſes of Leſley and Forbes being at enmity, the counties of Mar, Gareoch, and Aberdeen, were expoſed to conſtant ravages and reprizals; but by the interference of Angus the differences were compoſed, and a laſting friendſhip eſtabliſhed. While the lowlands frequently afforded ſcenes of rapine and ſlaughter, the highlands were loſt in all the outrage which diſtinguiſhes a ſavage ſtate of ſociety. Lachlan Mackintoſh, chief of the noted clan Chattan, being a man of prudence, and attached to good order, reſtricted his people from the exceſſes uſual to the other clans. James Malcomſon his relation, deſirous to terminate this reſtraint, baſely aſſaſſinated the worthy leader, and took refuge in an iſle of the lake of Rothemurky: but he, and his aſſociates, were purſued by the clan, and put to an ignominious death. The ſon of the late chief being very young, he was delivered to the care of the earl of Murray for his education: and Hector Mackintoſh, the baſtard brother of Lachlan, was appointed leader of the clan till his nephew ſhould be of age. The new chieftain in vain endeavoured to recover from Murray his young charge, either to lend more firmneſs to his power, or by his death to enſure its duration. Irritated by the earl's oppoſition he ravaged his lands, captured the town of Dyke, and caſtle of Tarnaway; conflagration, ſlaughter, rapine, marking his ferocious progreſs. The caſtle of Pettie, belonging to Ogilvy of Durneſs, was alſo taken; and twenty four of that name ſlain, becauſe Murray had committed the young chief to the care of the Ogilvies, his relations on the mother's ſide. Emboldened by ſucceſs Hector proceeded to other outrages,

rages, when Murray procured from the king a commiſſion of 1527
lieutenant general for the ſuppreſſion of theſe diſorders. The earl, raiſing an army, ruſhed upon the Mackintoſhes with ſuch impetuoſity, that no opportunity of reſiſtance was given: about two hundred of the perpetrators were ſeized and hanged: but no torture, nor reward, could induce any of them to diſcover the concealment of their chief, a fidelity which, if exerted in the cauſe of virtue, would have merited the higheſt applauſe. Yet William brother of Hector, and a principal actor in thoſe ſanguinary ſcenes, ſuffered the fate of a rebel; his head was expoſed at Dyke, his quarters at Elgin, Fores, Inverneſs, Aldern. Hector in deſpair fled, by the aſſiſtance of Alexander dean of Moray, and by earneſt ſupplications and profeſſions, at the feet of James, obtained the royal mercy: but he was ſoon after ſlain in St. Andrew's by a prieſt named James Spence, who was degraded and executed for the aſſaſſination [3].

Angus continued ſedulouſly to cultivate the protection of Henry, and the friendſhip of Wolſey. His correſpondence, Nov.
as chancellor of Scotland [4], breathes a firm and uniform deſire to maintain the pacification with England; but heſitates not to inſinuate hopes of pecuniary rewards. Sir William Liſle, and his ſons, being declared traitors by Henry, had fled into Scotland; and Angus endeavoured in vain to diſcover and deliver them up. Wolſey, on his ſide, encouraged his attachment to England by a liberality of praiſe, and political advice [5],

[3] Leſl. 423—426. John Smyth, monk of Kinloſs, MS. Harl. 2363 dates theſe events 1534; but his dates are confuſed.

[4] O. to Wolſey, 2 Nov. 1527, Cal. B. VII, 101; and 29 Dec. 1527, ib. 93. Albany's return was ſtill dreaded.

[5] The receipt of which Angus acknowledges in his letter laſt quoted.

which

1527 which Angus would willingly have exchanged for a purſe of angels.

Dec. By a proper application of ſome portions of his opulence, and by the mediation of Archibald Douglas provoſt of Edinburgh, uncle of Angus, the artful primate of St. Andrew's now accompliſhed an apparent reconciliation with that potent earl [6]. Sir George Douglas warmly oppoſed this meaſure, which was ſoon to prove fatal to his houſe. The queen had, ſome months before, returned to the court of her ſon, and reſumed her wonted influence over him; ſo that Magnus who, though in England, had from confidential friends ſpeedy intelligence of the affairs of Scotland, heſitates not to affirm, in a letter to Wolſey [7], that the effects would ſoon be perceived; and would turn to the deſtruction of Angus, whom, in the emphatic language of that age, he thus characterizes, "he is gentill and hardy; but he wanteth witte in conveyaunce of grete cauſes." Yet he allows to Angus the praiſe of commonly liſtening to the prudence of others. The feſtival of Chriſtmas preſented at the royal board the unexpected preſence of the queen, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and Angus [8]; nor had Scotland cauſe to ſigh at the infatuation of the houſe of Douglas [9].

1528 Perhaps the friendſhip of Arran was ſacrificed by all parties upon this occaſion, for little further mention of him occurs in hiſtory. However this be, the archbiſhop of St. An-

[6] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 10 Jan. 1528, B. II, 140. [7] Ibid. [8] Ibid.

[9] Lindſay's delineation of its tyranny, p. 206, is drawn in his wonted lively colours. He ſays the Douglaſes made a progreſs to puniſh thieves and traitors, "but none were found greater than were in their own company." His Douglas groat of 18*d.* Scotiſh, or ſuperior in ſize to the Engliſh groat, is not known: but in Sept. 1527, Heiztotter a german monyer was employed, though the engraver was to be a Scotiſh man. Scotſt. Cal.

drew's

drew's was no ſooner reinſtalled in ſome degree of his former power, than he exerted it in the moſt odious manner. 1528
The doctrines of Luther were ſo well adapted to the previous preparation of the minds of men, that, in the ſpace of ten years, the converts were numerous in all regions. Among theſe Patrick Hamilton, ſon of Hamilton of Kinkavil, formerly captain of Blackneſs, having travelled in Germany imported the reformed doctrines into Scotland, where he was to receive the eternal fame of being the protomartyr of the freedom of the human mind. On the pretext of a conference he was inveigled to St. Andrew's; and, after a brief trial, was delivered to the ſecular arm, and to the flames [1]. Theſe flames were, 29 Feb.
in the courſe of one generation, to enlighten all Scotland; and to conſume, with avenging fury, the catholic ſuperſtition, the papal power, and even the prelacy itſelf.

Meanwhile the queen had in vain endeavoured to ſhake the authority of Angus. Lord Maxwell, who was firmly attached to her, had made an incurſion into England, and burnt the town of Netherby, apparently with a view to exaſperate the Engliſh to an infraction of the peace; but Angus conſtrained Maxwell to compound for the damages with lord William Dacre the warden [2]. Leſley informs us that the queen, her huſband Henry Stuart, and his brother James, having taken refuge in the caſtle of Edinburgh, to ſecure themſelves from Angus, probably attempting ſome extortion of the endowed lands, the king himſelf advanced to beſiege the fortreſs; upon

[1] Keith, Hiſt. p. 8: the ſentence dated the laſt day of Feb. 1527-8, ib. App. p. 3. This puniſhment of a Hamilton muſt have been in oppoſition to the wiſhes of Arran, the chief of the family. Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kinkavil (ſee 1503) was the ſon of James, ſecond lord Hamilton.

[2] O. Dacre to Angus, 26 Feb. Cal. B. III, 3. O. Lord William Dacre to Wolſey, 6 March, B. VII, 102.

1528 which Margaret inſtantly ſurrendered the keys, and upon her
27 Mar. knees requeſted pardon for her huſband, and his brother; who were, however, to repreſs ſo inſolent an example, committed
12 April to ward for a ſhort time [3]. At eaſter the wily primate of St. Andrew's magnificently feaſted the king, and the Douglaſes, in that city; liberally preſenting to them eſtates, and houſes, gold, ſilver, and valuable ſteeds, in order to ſecure their favour, and cover his deſigns [4].

The plot of the king's liberation from the odious power of the Douglaſes was now formed, but proceeded with the ſecret force of a ſubterraneous river, till it burſt forth with the fury of a cataract. James prevailed on his mother to abandon to him her caſtle of Stirling, in exchange for the lands of Methven, to be erected into a peerage for her huſband [5]. Having thus ſecured that important fortreſs as his ſpecial property, and appointed confidential officers, he digeſted his plan, probably by Beton's aſſiſtance; and apprized the peers who were attached to himſelf, and inimical to Angus. The king was now at Falkland [6], amuſing himſelf with the pleaſures of the chace; and Beton being then unſuſpected by the Douglaſes, the proximity of reſidence rendered an intercourſe between James and him eaſy and commodious. Angus had gone to Lothian, on neceſſary affairs, leaving with the king Sir Archibald his uncle, Sir George his brother, and James Douglas of Parkhead captain of the royal guard. The uncle ſoon after

[3] Leſl. 427. [4] Lindſay, 217.

[5] Credence from Margaret to Tait, to be ſhewn to Northumberland, and avouched by him, B. VII, 73. She now baſely acts as a ſpy for England againſt her ſon, at leaſt, with her uſual duplicity, ſhe courts both parties. Hume's houſe of Douglas, II, 97.

[6] Lindſay's *naïf* account, 217—220, has been chiefly followed in the ſubſequent narrative.

travelled

travelled to Dundee, to viſit his miſtreſs; the brother to St. 1528
Andrew's, to conclude an advantageous leaſe with the primate: but the guard of one hundred, commanded by Parkhead, was eſteemed a ſufficient check on the motions of the monarch.

James ſeizing the opportunity ordered preparations for a July
ſolemn hunting on the enſuing day, at ſeven in the morning; and pretended to retire early to reſt, an example followed by the captain of the guard, after placing the uſual watch. The king, diſguiſed as a groom, and attended by two faithful ſervants, paſſed to the ſtables; and, mounting fleet horſes, they reached Stirling by dawn of day: where having commanded the gates to be ſhut, and no entrance allowed except by the royal order, he retired to the caſtle, and enjoyed ſome repoſe after his fatigue. He afterwards proceeded to a council, conſiſting of Arran, Argyle, Murray, Eglinton, and the lords Montgomery, Evandale, Sinclair, Maxwell[7].

Meanwhile Sir George Douglas having returned to Falkland, at eleven o'clock in the preceding evening, was next morning awakened with the dreadful tidings of the monarch's eſcape. After a vain ſearch, he cried out, "Treaſon! the king is gone!" A meſſenger was inſtantly diſpatched to Angus, who returned; and the treaſurer alſo arriving, they determined to proceed to Stirling. But on their journey a herald 5 July
met them with a proclamation, enjoining, on pain of treaſon, that none of the houſe of Douglas, nor its followers, ſhould approach within ſix miles of the court. After ſome deliberation, it was reſolved to obey the royal mandate: and the power of the houſe of Douglas, which had ſpread like an alpine torrent after rain, was reduced by the burning ſun to its former narrow channel.

[7] Queen's credence, juſt quoted.

BOOK XIV.

BEING

THE FIRST PART OF

THE ACTUAL REIGN OF JAMES V.

Character of James V—forfeiture of Angus—negotiations—ſiege of Tantallon—peace with England—Armſtrongs—borderers puniſhed—death of Arran—commercial treaty with Flanders—college of juſtice—hoſtilities with England—truce—northern progreſs of James—proteſtants burnt—reformation in England—Howard's embaſſy—parliament—embaſſy from the emperor.

1528 July. JAMES V was now aged ſixteen years and about three months. Of this monarch all our early hiſtorians preſent one uniform character; and their general voice proclaims his excellence. His education, as uſual with princes who aſcend the throne in infancy, had been neglected, or erroneous; corrupted by flattery; rendered deficient in its taſks from the preceptor's fear of diſpleaſing. Yet his mind was great, his affections warm, his diſcernment acute. His vices were few, and never interrupted the happineſs of his people. His propenſity to vague amour was palliated by his general affability; his ſternneſs to the nobles by his favour to the common people, which was ſo eminent that he received from his affectionate

ſubjects

ſubjects the glorious appellation of King of the Poor[1]. To 1528
the voice of poverty, to the prayer of diſtreſs, the gates of his palace ſtood ever open: with one hand he raiſed the indigent, while with the other he cruſhed the proud oppreſſor. In the knowledge of the laws and cuſtoms of his kingdom he was ſo completely verſed, that his deciſions were as exact as they were expeditious; and from horſeback he often pronounced decrees worthy of the ſageſt ſeat of juſtice. Of indubitable valour, of remarkable ſtrength of conſtitution, he expoſed his life, and health, without heſitation, at any ſeaſon when it became neceſſary to curb the marauding borderers, or highlanders, rendered lawleſs during the diſorders of a long minority. The dangers of the wilderneſs, the gloom of night, the tempeſts of winter, could not prevent his patient exertions to protect the helpleſs, to puniſh the guilty, to enforce the obſervance of the laws. A ſtranger to pride, he deſpiſed it in others; and his ſpeech was ever ſprinkled with humanity[2].

The faults of his government, though not minute, are more to be aſcribed to the times, than to the character of the monarch. His avarice naturally aroſe from the penury of his education, the diſſipation of his finances, and even of the furniture of his palaces, by the unprincipled duke of Albany. But his amaſſed treaſure was employed in the conſtruction of magnificent works of architecture, and of a navy; and in other plans of general utility and glory. His political deſigns were long ſtudied; yet as he died in his thirtieth year he could not have acquired the experience of age: and the period of his reign preſented combinations too intricate for the moſt ſkilful

[1] Leſl. 460.

[2] A forcible expreſſion of Leſley, "ſermo humanitate, tanquam ſale, aſperſus." For the general character, compare alſo Buch. XIV, 62, and Lindſay, 276.

prudence

1 2 prudence to foreſee, or define. The progreſs of the proteſtant religion was dubious; and dangerous it is for a prince to embrace a new ſyſtem before it be approved by a great majority of his ſubjects. Untaught by the glorious concord between his father and the nobles, James entertained a fixed enmity againſt the ariſtocracy, which had effected great uſurpations during his minority; and his attachment to the eminent clergy, who alone could balance their power, was unavoidable.

Of the perſon, and domeſtic life, of James V the features are well known. His frame was of the middle ſize, and robuſt, capable of every exertion of agility, or fatigue. In elegance of form, and countenance, he equalled any prince of his time. His oval face, blue eyes of piercing ſplendor, aquiline noſe, yellow hair, and ſmall beard forked in the faſhion of that period, impreſſed the beholders with ideas of ſweetneſs joined with majeſty. In dreſs he was rather elegant than magnificent: yet his palaces were replete with decoration. The repaſt of a peaſant he would ſhare; and, even from a ſumptuous board, the royal meal was plain, and frugal; nor did he entruſt his dignity to the intemperance of wine. Eminently patient he was of labour, of hunger and thirſt, of heat and cold. His attachment to the arts was decided: he reared palaces of good architecture; and compoſed ſome fugitive pieces of poetry, though it be doubtful if any have reached our times [3]. He repleniſhed his country with artillery, and military weapons; and the beauty of his gold coins beſpeaks his attention even to the minuteſt improvements, to be gained by the employment of foreign artiſts. The Scotiſh navy,

[3] Sir D. Lindſay, a contemporary, avouches the royal poetry, in his "Anſwer to the king's flyting." Drummond, 228, ſays *many* of his verſes were extant in his time. It is to be regretted that our monarchs did not, like thoſe of Spain and Portugal, compoſe hiſtory. See the Bibliotheca Hiſpanica of Antonio.

ruined

ruined by Albany, began to reſume ſome importance: and 1528
the ſubſequent voyage of James to the Orkneys and Hebudes,
accompanied by men of ſkill, in order to examine the dangers
and advantages of the circumjacent ſeas, will ever deſerve the
applauſe of the philoſopher, as an enterprize equally rare and
meritorious.

When James had appeared at the council-board at Stirling,
when the Douglaſes had obeyed his mandate not to approach
the court, his regal authority may be regarded as complete,
and free from all conſtraint. Yet the power and influence of
Angus had been ſo extenſive, that it was neceſſary to uſe pre-
cautions, in order to prevent the efforts of his deſpair. Ac- 6 July
cordingly James immediately proceeded to Edinburgh, accom-
panied by the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the biſhops of Dunkeld,
Aberdeen, Galloway, Brechin, the earls of Argyle, Arran,
Eglinton, Rothes, Bothwell, the lords Maxwell, Evandale,
Seton, Forbes, Home, Yeſter, and their ſervants to the number
of three hundred ſpears *. Three days after his arrival a pro-
clamation was iſſued, ordering that none of the ſubjects ſhould
hold intercourſe with Angus, or his two brothers, or uncle:
and that, on pain of death, none of their followers ſhould re-
main in the capital after four o'clock in the afternoon of that
day. On ſaturday and monday thereafter the king, and the
above recited lords, ſat in council in the upper chamber of 13 July
the tolbooth, and decreed that a parliament ſhould meet on
the ſecond day of September. The archbiſhop of Glaſgow,
Gawin Dunbar formerly preceptor to James, was appointed
chancellor of the kingdom; Beton, from whom Angus had
wreſted the ſeals, being now probably advanced in years, and
diſguſted with the fatigues of that high office. Lord Maxwell

* O. Lord William Dacre to Wolſey, 18 July 1528, Cal. B. I, 17.

was

1528 was made provoſt of Edinburgh. Patrick Sinclair was ſent embaſſador to England, to narrate the final aſſumption of the authority by James, and to prevent any miſrepreſentation by Angus [5].

The young monarch was now chiefly guided by the counſels of the queen his mother, of Henry Stuart her huſband, at this time created lord Methven [6], of Maxwell, and Buccleugh; and Arran's baſtard ſon Sir James Hamilton ſheriff of Air, a man of famous cruelty, and who had lately added to his crimes the murder of Caſſils, partook the royal bed, a favour aſſigned by the cuſtom of the times to the moſt choſen friends [7]. Nothing but extreme youth can palliate ſuch unhappy favouritiſm; but perhaps the valour alone of Sir James recommended him to the king, as a ſafeguard at this criſis. For, during this ſhort reſidence at Edinburgh, the lords in their turns watched the royal palace by night, with their followers in the moſt defenſible array; nor did the monarch himſelf, no ſtranger to the power and enterprize of Angus, diſdain to head the guard, for the ſpace of one night, dreſſed in complete armour. On tueſday, the fourteenth of July, James returned to Stirling; and the lords retired to their ſeveral reſidences, leaving the country in diſorder, till the approaching parliament ſhould ordain meaſures for the public tranquillity [8].

Sinclair the embaſſador was inſtructed to ſhew to Henry the reaſons which inſtigated James againſt Angus; and particularly that the earl had taken numerous bonds of *manrent* to himſelf,

[5] Ibid. [6] On the 17th July. Crawf. Off. 66.

[7] Dacre's letter. Dacre only ſtyles him the Sheriff of Air who ſlew Caſſils. Buch. XIV, 30, ſays Sir James Hamilton employed Hugh Campbell ſheriff of Air to aſſaſſinate Caſſils. But in a letter of Angus, 11 Sept. 1528, B. VII, 95, Sir James Hamilton is ſtyled Sheriff of Air. See a note at May 1527.

[8] Dacre's letter.

by

by which the king was deprived even of the allegiance of his subjects; and to expreſs his deſire that Henry would not receive, nor protect, Angus, who had been ordered by his ſovereign to ſurrender himſelf to impriſonment. To win the compliance of the Engliſh king, a further peace of three years was offered; that of 1526 being to expire in the enſuing January [9]. 1528

The intention of James, to attaint the Douglaſes in the approaching parliament, being known, Angus retired to Tantallon, a caſtle in Eaſt Lothian of great ſtrength; and ſent to Sir Roger Laſſels, to inquire if he could be received at Norham, in caſe of neceſſity [1]. Archibald and Sir George Douglas appeared at Edinburgh with their adherents; but their friends had deſerted their deſperate cauſe, and Maxwell with a few followers attacking their bands unawares, they accounted themſelves happy in eſcaping by flight [2]. Aug.

The national council having aſſembled, James was not willing to entruſt the forfeiture of Angus to their general deliberation, knowing that the earl had many friends; but ſix clergymen, and five peers, were ſelected, namely the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the biſhops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Galloway, Dumblane, the prior of St. Andrew's; the earls Argyle, Arran, Eglinton, Murray, and lord Maxwell [3]. This jury of eleven 2 Sept.

[9] O. Inſtructions, B. II, 185, dated 13 July. On the 28th Auguſt James wrote to Henry, to deſire that the Scotiſh merchants might be permitted to carry ſalmon, and other ſalted fiſh, to London, and to Stirbruch fair, though Berwick claimed to be the ſtaple. O. B. I, 33.

[1] C. Sir Roger Laſſels to Northumberland, 29 Aug. B. III, 289. [2] Ib.

[3] C. Laſſels to Wolſey, 8 Sept. B. I, 29. Names of the perſons who ſat and concluded the forfeiture of Angus, being his chief foes, B. III, 36. Yet the biſhop of Aberdeen, in a letter to Magnus, 23 Nov. 1528, B. VII, 117, denies this charge; and ſays the forfeiture was decreed by the king, and his

1528 eleven was choſen with little regard to juſtice, for all of them were inimical to the Douglaſes; and the forfeiture of the three brothers and the uncle followed of courſe; the lands of Angus being apparently ſhared even before it was pronounced; among others, Argyle had Arbanach; Arran, Bothwell; Buccleugh, Jedburgh foreſt; while to the king were only left the caſtle of Tantallon, and the ſuperiority of the ſhire of Angus. Maxwell, and Sir James Hamilton ſheriff of Air, alſo received their portions [4]. The attainder was ſupported by ſeven articles, of which the chief was that Angus had retained the king in conſtraint for two years, againſt his will, and in defiance of the law of the land [5].

The fallen earl had employed Andrew Cairns, provincial miniſter of the friars minors in Scotland, to intercede with the king. And having, upon his attainder, retired from Tantallon caſtle to Coldingham abbey, (a benefice held, though unjuſtly, by his brother William,) in purſuance of a maxim of his anceſtors, that it was better to hear the lark ſing than the mouſe chirp [6], expreſſing their abhorrence to commit their valour to the dubious ſtrength of walls, he thence diſpatched the friar to James. Angus offered to ſurrender Tantallon, and whatever part of his eſtates the king might claim, if he would reſtore the earl to his honours, and to the poſſeſſion of

univerſal lords and council. He imputes it to the failure of Angus in many propoſals he made to the king, "and eftirwart kepit nevir a word." The biſhop was one of the jury.

[4] Ibid. Arbanact is in the original. Armanach? Perhaps Abernethy, as Crawford's Peerage bears. In Jan. 1529 Tantallon was given to Bothwell. Scotſt. Cal. But the lordſhip of Douglas was retained by James; and in June 1534 was given to James his eldeſt natural ſon. Ibid.

[5] Laſſels to Wolſey, above quoted. [6] Hume Dougl. II, 103.

the

the remainder[7]. The youth and inexperience of James aſ- 1528
ſented, and even pledged the royal faith[8]: but he ſpeedily re-
tracted his promiſe, and ſummoning an array of eight thouſand
ſelect men, he proceeded againſt the caſtles of Angus[9]; the 7 Sept.
parliament having only ſitten for the few days neceſſary to paſs
the attainder; and a few decrees confirming the aſſumption of
the ſovereignty, and appointing an embaſſy to foreign realms
to explore a proper bride for the king[1].

Sinclair was again diſpatched to England, to ſolicit juſtice on the borderers; to repreſent the practices of Albany, who ſtill retained Dunbar, and even pretended to the regency; and to requeſt Henry to interfere with the French king on thoſe topics[2].

James ſent a detachment into Douglaſdale, to beſiege the caſtle of Douglas; but while he was himſelf proceeding with the main body, it was repreſented by the peers that the expedition ſhould be deferred till the corn were reaped, leſt the country might receive injury. The army was accordingly diſ-

[7] O. Declaration of Cairns, ſigned "Frer Andro Cayrnis, Miniſter Provincial of the Freyr Minors in Scotland, with our hand." Cal. B. VII, 79. But Angus inſiſted for a complete remiſſion to his brothers, palpably inſtigated by his counſellor Sir George, againſt whom the king was particularly irritated, and the demand was thence moſt offenſive.

[8] Ibid. The important words, "in verbo regio," are on the margin, but are ſpecially avouched, "Frer Andro Cayrnis approvith the word on the tother ſyd, *in verbo regio*." This declaration bears to have been drawn up at the requeſt of the chancellor of Scotland, (Angus?) and Dr. Magnus.

[9] O. Laſſels to Wolſey, 8 Sept. B. I, 29.

[1] C. Inſtructions James to Patrick Sinclair, B. VII, 81.

[2] Ibid. Wolſey's remarks are on the margin. Among ſmaller particulars it appears that the daughter of the late lord Home, executed in 1516, had been left in the cuſtody of Sir Chriſtopher Dacre; and as ſhe was a great heireſs, James deſires that ſhe be ſurrendered.

1528 banded for a month; and the king returned to the capital[3]. During his reſidence there, Angus had the preſumption to ſend eighty cavalry, with each a led horſe, to burn two villages on the road to Stirling, which they accompliſhed, ſaying, with ſavage merriment, that the light might ſerve the king on his journey, if he ſet out before dawn[4]. Whether we regard prudence, or juſtice, the conduct of Angus on this occaſion was contemptible. In vain did Henry and Wolſey repeatedly intercede for this peer, whoſe actions only tended more and more
11 Sept. to exaſperate his ſovereign. Angus, on his ſide, ſent frequent letters to the Engliſh king, and his miniſter, requeſting aid; and a reception in England if his fortunes proved deſperate[5]. The aſſiſtance of force was refuſed, as Henry could neither with decency, nor prudence, ſupport a rebel peer againſt his monarch: but the latter, a ſad refuge, was granted[6].

about 2 Oct. Having again collected ſome forces, James proceeded to Coldingham, and Angus having retired, the place was aſſigned to the cuſtody of lord Home, and his brother the abbot of Jedburgh. But, on the ſame night, the forfeited earl attacked, and regained, his reſidence, the king fleeing with precipitation to Dunbar. Yet the power of the Douglaſes was now further reduced by the death of William the prior of Coldingham; and Angus ſent his own daughter by the queen to the caſtle of Norham, as a place of ſecurity[7].

[3] C. Laſſels to Northumberland, 11 Sept. B. VII, 14; and O. 13 Sept. ibid. 13. [4] Ibid. 11 Sept.

[5] O. Angus to Wolſey, Coldingham abbey, 11 Sept. B. VI, 176. O. Angus to Northumberland, 11 Sept. B. VII, 95.

[6] O. Northumberland to Wolſey, 9 Oct. B. VI, 459.

[7] Ibid. James had 500 men, Angus 200; but 300 borderers joined him in purſuit of the king by night, for they dared not to appear in the day. See alſo O. Angus to Northumberland, 4 Oct. B. VII, 98.

The

The Scotiſh monarch, irritated by reſiſtance and miſadven- 1528
ture, raiſed an army of twelve thouſand men, provided with artillery from Dunbar, and other places, and proceeded againſt Tantallon [8]. The ſiege was obſtinate but vain. James aban- 18 Oct.
doned it after it had continued for more than a fortnight; and 4 Nov.
unſkilfully withdrew his troops, leaving only a ſmall detachment to convey the artillery, which ought to have been ſent off in the van. Angus, whoſe intelligence was wonderful, ſuddenly advanced with one hundred and ſixty cavalry, aſſailed the detachment by the light of the moon, and put it to a total route. Among the ſlain was David Falconer, captain of the king's guard of infantry, and eſteemed the beſt naval officer in Scotland. The maſter of the artillery was among the captives. Angus then convoyed the artillery on its deſtined road; and delivering the maſter, ordered him to aſſure the king of his loyal ſervices, and that his enmity was only directed againſt evil counſellors, who had expoſed their prince to ſuch diſhonour on the preſent occaſion [9]. James, burning with indignation, declared with an oath that, while he lived, the Douglaſes ſhould find no refuge in Scotland; and he obſerved the adjuration [1]. His rage was yet further increaſed by the fate of the Martin, a valuable mercantile veſſel, which being ſtranded 21 Nov.
by a tempeſt at Innerwick on the eaſtern coaſt of Lothian, was ſeized by the followers of Angus; they rifled part of the cargo, and abandoned the reſt to the peaſants, who ignorant of its value uſed the cinnamon as a material of domeſtic fire, and perfumed their huts with oriental luxury [2]. The office of leading ſome troops to Coldingham, in order to expell the Douglaſes, being

[8] O. Angus to Northumberland, Nov. B. VII, 99. O. Northumberland to Wolſey, 28 Oct. B. VII, 135.
[9] Ibid. [1] Buch. XIV. 37. [2] Ibid. 36.

refuſed

1528 refuſed by Bothwell, was conferred on Argyle [3], who ſucceeded; and that potent family were forced into England, where Angus and his brother Sir George were to reſide during the remainder of this reign, the earl being admitted to the Engliſh privy council, and continuing to be highly favoured by Henry: nor did they reviſit Scotland till the ſecond year of Mary's minority, after an exile of fifteen years: but no longer was a Douglas to be dangerous to the Scotiſh throne.

Meanwhile a negotiation was conducted for the renewal of the peace with England, which was to expire in the approaching January. Dr. Magnus, and Sir Thomas Tempeſt, were the acting commiſſioners, on the part of Henry; their inſtructions chiefly tended to accompliſh, by every poſſible endeavour, the reſtitution of Angus to his titles and eſtates; the more eſpecially as it was reported that James was treating with the emperor Charles V, now the enemy of England and of France, and the potent earl might ſupport the Engliſh influence [4]. But Magnus adviſed Wolſey not to irritate James by inſiſting vehemently on the cauſe of Angus, who, during the three years that he had been warden of the borders, had never adminiſtered juſtice [5]; yet the cardinal, though his fall was faſt approaching, continued his uſual obſtinacy, and gave James infinite diſguſt. The commiſſioners having advanced to Berwick, where the negotiations were to be adjuſted, Dr. Magnus remained there for more than two months; and was honoured by the correſpondence of James, and the queen-mother whoſe good offices were ſolicited in favour of Angus [6].

[3] Ibid. 37. Yet Angus ſeems rather to have left Scotland by Henry's deſire, the prolongation of the peace being reſolved. See Hume's houſe of Douglas, II, 104.

[4] O. Inſtructions, Cal. B. VIII, 25, and B. V, 41.

[5] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 14 Nov. B. II, 106.

[6] C. Magnus to Margaret, Berwick, 18 Nov. B. VII, 106.

But

But ſhe anſwered, with her uſual ſpirit, that ſuch ſolicitations 1528
ſhewed little regard either to her, or her ſon; and that if the 25 Nov.
Engliſh king had acted in a more fraternal manner to her, ſhe might now have been both able and willing to ſerve him[7]. The reply of James teſtifies his high obligations to Henry, for his preſervation from manifold perils during his minority; and offers in gratitude a pacification of five years, inſtead of three, as formerly propoſed, and all poſſible redreſs for any injuries ſuſtained by the Engliſh on the marches; but poſitively rejects the mediation for Angus, to whom he can only afford a remittance of the ſentence of death; at the ſame time aſſuring Magnus that he prefers the alliance with England to that with the emperor[8]. The chancellor, and council of Scotland, the biſhops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, and Adam Ottirburn the king's advocate, alſo rejected, by their letters, the applications of Magnus in favour of Angus[9], whoſe partiſans ſedulouſly reported that England would not conſent to peace, except the earl were reſtored to his honours and eſtates. Magnus in- 30 Nov.
formed Wolſey of the pernicious tendency of this report, James being ſo much affected at this violation of his dignity, by his uncle's preferring Angus to him, that he burſt into tears of rage in full council, while the members joined in his reſentment. The embaſſador adds that James had ſhewn a readineſs to pardon Angus, upon certain promiſes; which the earl having revoked, the king alſo recoiled; and that, though Angus was a good and honourable man, yet he was miſled by his brother Sir George, as Archibald Douglas the uncle was by his opulent wife, and to thoſe violent conductors were the misfortunes of the family to be ſolely imputed[1]. In order to

[7] O. B. VII, 107. [8] O. James to Magnus, 24 Nov. B. VII, 104.
[9] Cal. B. VII, 110, 120, 115, 117, 116, in the order of names in the text. [1] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 30 Nov. B. II, 105.

conciliate

1528 conciliate James, the marriage with Henry's daughter, Mary, was again hinted by Magnus to Ottirburn; and it was requeſted that the propoſed embaſſy for a bride might be delayed [2].

4 Dec. The Scotiſh cabinet at length iſſued a commiſſion to Scot of Balwery, Adam Ottirburn, and Ker of Ferniherſt, to renew the pacification [3]: and they proceeded to Berwick to meet Magnus and Tempeſt. By previous articles the Scotiſh commiſſioners engaged that compenſation ſhould be made for the inroads of the people of Lidſdale; they give an eluſory promiſe to aſſiſt Henry in procuring the reſtitution of Angus, if agreeable to their own monarch; and a poſitive conſent that Angus his brother and uncle may be received in England, without breach of the article concerning the reception of rebels, provided that they ſurrender to James the caſtle of Tantallon, and their other fortreſſes [4]. A peace of five years was concluded

14 Dec. two days after; which was, as ſoon as the formalities would admit, duly ratified by both monarchs [5]. The caſtle of Tantallon, and other fortreſſes of the Douglaſes, were in conſequence rendered into the hands of the Scotiſh king.

Yet Magnus remained at Berwick, to diſcover with more accuracy the intentions of James; for though William Hamilton the envoy to France returned at this time with a rejection of all the Scotiſh propoſals, Francis being now entirely devoted to Henry; yet the emperor Charles V employed the mediation of Margaret his aunt, governeſs of the Netherlands, of the lord of Campvere, and of Moffat the Scotiſh conſervator of trade at Middleburg, in order to procure the marriage of James with his ſiſter the queen of Hungary, Mary the widow

[2] C. Magnus to Ottirburn, 5 Dec. B. VII, 121. [3] Rymer, XIV, 275.
[4] Rymer, XIV, 276. [5] Ibid. 278, 286.

of

of the unfortunate Louis, ſlain by the Turks at Mohatz [6]. A parliament was to meet on the eighteenth of January, to conſider this among other affairs; and Magnus earneſtly revived the hope of the Engliſh princeſs, ſolely to prevent any other alliance [7]. James entruſted him with inſtructions to ſhew to Henry, in which he largely vindicated his conduct to the family of Douglas [8]. 1528

A parliament was held at Edinburgh, of which ſome ſtatutes have been preſerved; and particularly one declaring the wilful conflagration of houſes, or corn, to be treaſon; the penalty being rendered thus high, in order to prevent the commiſſion of a crime become very frequent [9]. The marauders on the frontiers increaſed their diſorders; the Armſtrongs, had in the courſe of a few years, deſtroyed not leſs than fifty two pariſh churches in Scotland, if Magnus be believed; and they openly boaſted that they would neither be ſubject to James, nor Henry, but would continue their exceſſes [1]. The Scotiſh king loudly blamed Angus, and his adherents, for encouraging theſe crimes, and reſolved ſpeedily to terminate them with an iron hand, beginning now to have recourſe to aged and prudent counſellors, and not heſitating to aſcribe the fall of his ally, 1529 22 Jan.

[6] O. Magnus to Wolſey, Berwick, 17 Dec. B. II, 108.

[7] Ibid. Beton archbiſhop of St. Andrew's had now great power in the council, as Magnus informs Wolſey.

[8] O. Cal. B. VIII, 1. Among other topics, this curious paper bears that Angus had a deſign to murder James, as ſome nobles could prove; that, laſt Eaſter, James had, by the advice of aged peers, called Angus before a council of five or ſix, repeated the public murmurs, and deſired a reform, but the only fruit was that the earl imagined the death of the adviſers; and that James, by the faith of a prince, intended no more againſt Angus and his friends, than to have withdrawn their offices, had they not paſſed into open rebellion.

[9] Acts. [1] O. Magnus to Wolſey, 14 Feb. B. II, 67.

1529 Chriſtern of Denmark, to the youth and inexperience of his adviſers [2].

So relaxed had the reins of government become by a long minority, that the diſtant regions ſeemed to have loſt all law. The earl of Caithneſs, and lord Sinclair, having reſolved to ſeize the Orkneys, led an army againſt thoſe iſlands. But
18 May they were met by James Sinclair, governor for the king, the Orkneys having been for more than half a century a royal appenage; and the Orcadians diſplayed ſuch loyalty and courage that they completely defeated their invaders, their enthuſiaſm being ſo much kindled on this occaſion that, in their pious eyes, their military patron St. Magnus became a viſible champion, who opened to them the road to victory. The ſlaughter was great on both ſides; Caithneſs and five hundred of his followers were ſlain; Sinclair and the reſt remained captives [3].

The king ſummoned a council of the nobles to Edinburgh, where it was determined to proceed with ſalutary rigour againſt the borderers who continued to defy the laws. To inſtitute an example of terror to their chieftains, William Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scot of Tuſhilaw, were tried, condemned, and executed [4]. The earl of Bothwell, lord of Tividale, who either protected, or did not puniſh, the marauders, was lodged in priſon, where he remained ſix months [5]. Some other rigorous but exemplary meaſures followed againſt thoſe barons, who were the moſt deaf to the outcry of public diſorder: but it would be ridiculous to infer that James, a youth

[2] Ibid. [3] Leſl. 430. [4] Ibid.

[5] O. Communications Bothwell and Northumberland, 21 Dec. 1531, Cal. B. V, 216. Leſley erroneouſly ſays Bothwell was baniſhed, and went to Venice, where he lived during this king's reign. This earl Patrick appears to have died in Scotland about 1534. Dougl. Peer. 85. His ſucceſſor Patrick died, apparently abroad, in Sept. 1556. Dalr. Rem. 175.

of

of ſeventeen, had projected a deep political plan to depreſs his 1529
nobles. Their outrages during his minority, while the peers of England had begun to feel and reſpect the tranquillity of the laws, had juſtly excited his lively reſentment; and his love of his people prompted him to cruſh thoſe proud oppreſſors, who drew their chief revenues from the diſtreſs of the induſtrious, and maintained bands of lawleſs followers at the public expence.

So uncertain is ſometimes the chronology of Scotiſh hiſtory, even at this period, and ſo negligent have all our writers been in this important province, that it is dubious if ſome events, aſcribed to this year, did not occur in the courſe of the next. Of this kind is the impriſonment of Bothwell; which was followed by that of other border chiefs, the earl of Home, lord Maxwell, Scot of Buccleugh, Ker of Ferniherſt, Polwarth, Johnſton, Mark Ker[6].

Having thus ſecured their protectors, James collected ſome June
troops, and proceeded to Euſdale, againſt the marauders themſelves. Forty eight of the moſt criminal were ſeized, and hanged; one who had ſet fire to a houſe, and therein conſumed a woman and her children, was, with juſt retaliation, committed to the flames. But the fate of the Armſtrongs, long notorious for the atrocity of their ravages, chiefly excited the public attention, and applauſe. By the aſſiſtance of George his brother, who was pardoned on condition of betraying the others, John Armſtrong the chief of the name, whoſe

[6] Leſl. 431. Buchanan dates theſe events, and the execution of the Armſtrongs, in 1530, for after narrating them he proceeds, "Proximo anno qui fuit 1531:" the date 1529 ſhould be put at the words "Arce dedita," after the ſurrender of Tantallon, for it was in 1529 that Sir Robert Barton was made treaſurer, Crawf. Off. 373. And the words, "Proximo anno, menſe Martio," refer to 1530, not 1529 as marked on the margin. Buch. XIV, 38, 39, 40.

1529 robberies had elevated him to opulence and power, was captured, and ſuffered the fate of a felon [7]. Having thus at length accompliſhed the ſubordination of the frontiers, James returned to Edinburgh, and releaſed the impriſoned chiefs, now taught to acknowledge the regal ſword as well as the ſceptre. But Bothwell, who exceeded in faults and in power, remained in durance.

Archibald Douglas, uncle of Angus, clandeſtinely returning to Scotland, ſuddenly threw himſelf at the king's feet, while he was on a journey; but James having made a vow to pardon none of the family, he with reluctance exiled the old man to France [8].

James had diſpatched an embaſſador to Francis, concerning his marriage with the queen of Hungary ſiſter of Charles V; and at the ſame time ſent letters to Albany, repreſenting that, as they were the ſole ſurvivors of their family, this event might intereſt his uncle's exertions, as well as his own, and deſiring his interceſſion with the French king for its accompliſhment. But Albany ungenerouſly remitted a copy of the letters to Wolſey, with a credence by James Lamb, who was authorized to declare his maſter's devotion to Henry and Wolſey, and his intentions of oppoſing any connubial alliance with Charles, the enemy of England and France [9]. This diſingenuous flattery was vain, for, in October this year, the cardinal was hurled from the ſummit of power; and was, a year after, to leave in his death a ſtriking leſſon to mankind on the viciſſitude of fortune. The anſwer of Francis to James diſplays his

[7] Leſl. 432. Buch. XIV, 39. Lindſay, 226.

[8] Leſl. ib. Hume's Houſe of Douglas II, 107.

[9] C. Credence Albany to Lambe, B. VI, 117. C. James to Albany, 10 May, B. VII, 133.

deſire

deſire that he will abandon all views of the intended eſpouſals, 1529
as highly offenſive to him, and to Henry his ally [1].

The year fifteen hundred and thirty is barren of important 1530
events. The propoſed marriage of James with the queen of Hungary meeting with ſuch decided oppoſition from Henry and Francis, and the lady herſelf ſhewing no warm inclination, as preferring the independent and opulent government of the Netherlands, to which ſhe might aſpire on the death of her aunt Margaret, now aged and infirm, another alliance was projected by Albany. The intended bride was the ducheſs of Urbino, ſo ſtyled, but apparently the widow of the uſurper Lorenzo of Medici, and in conſequence a relation of the adviſer. James ſent Thomas Scot to Henry, to conſult him on this ſcheme; and the Carliſle herald brought the conſent of the Engliſh monarch [2]; but ſome unknown obſtacle terminated this, the third, matrimonial propoſition to James.

One John Scott pretended to revive the declining affection of the people to the catholic faith, by extraordinary faſtings, pilgrimages, and devotion; and he ran an imminent riſk of canonization, when ſome new ſcenes betrayed his impoſture to public ridicule [3].

The death of James lord Hamilton, the firſt earl of Arran, deſerves eſpecial commemoration, as a name frequent in the hiſtorical page of this reign, and that of James IV. He was ſucceeded by his ſon James, afterwards to be more diſtinguiſhed, in the commencement of Mary's reign, by his title of regent, than by his abilities [4].

[1] O. Francis to James 28 June 1529, B. VII, 132.

[2] O. Credence Henry to Carliſle Herald, B. VIII, 8.

[3] Leſl. 431. Buch. XIV, 40. The papiſt, and the proteſtant, conſpire in detailing this minute affair with ludicrous importance.

[4] Crawf. Peerage: and his Renfrewſhire, p. 246, edit. 1782.

Sir

1531 Sir James Inglis, abbot of Culros, and apparently he who
1 March was ſecretary to Margaret the queen, was murdered by the baron of Tulliallan, and his followers, among whom was one Lothian a prieſt. They were ſeized four months after; and the impartial juſtice of James delivered Tulliallan, and the prieſt after having been previouſly degraded, to the puniſhment of decapitation, which was ſuperintended by Argyle the High Juſticiary [5].

26 April A parliament met at Edinburgh, and paſſed ſome ſevere ordinances againſt aſſaſſination, and robbery, crimes yet frequent. Nor did the imprudent mercy of the monarch ever relax from the complete enforcement of thoſe ſalutary laws [6].

The commercial treaty concluded by the wiſdom of the firſt James, between Scotland and the Netherlands, for the term of
June one hundred years being about to expire, Sir John Campbell of Lundy, and Sir David Lindſay of the Mont lyon-king-at-arms, with David Panter as ſecretary of legation, were ſent to Bruſſels, where Charles V now was, in order to procure its renewal for a ſimilar ſpace of time [7]. Margaret governeſs of

[5] Leſley 433. This Sir James Inglis was ſurely the ſame who had been ſecretary to the queen Margaret, as mentioned in the tranſactions of 1515. In a charter of 19 Sept. 1527, he is ſtyled chancellor of the royal chapel at Stirling. Scotſt. Cal. Mackenzie, in his moſt careleſs and inaccurate work, called Lives of the Scotiſh writers, has woven a tiſſue of errors, in his account of this author, who was an eminent poet: among others he makes him ſurvive the battle of Pinkie in 1548. Sir David Lindſay, in the prologue to his Papingo, a poem finiſhed on the 14th day of December 1530, (as the firſt edition, London 1538, bears at the end,) thus commemorates Sir James Inglis, then alive, and inſinuates that his opulent abbacy had ſuppreſſed his ſtudies.

Qwho can ſay more than Schir James Inglis ſayis
In ballats, farſes, and in pleſande playis?
Bot Culroſe haith his pen made impotente.

In Feb. 1539, and June 1540, a *William* appears as abbot of Culros in Scotſtarvet's Calendars. [6] Leſl. 434.

[7] O. James to Magnus, 29 June, B. III, 56. O. Ottirburn to Magnus, 26 June, ib. 298.

the

the Netherlands having died in the preceding November, the queen of Hungary was now raiſed to that ſplendid prefecture: and the Scotiſh embaſſadors were received by her and the emperor, with great favour, and diſmiſſed with entire ſatisfaction in all their demands [8]. Charles V, upon his ſiſter's refuſal to marry James, offered a daughter of the depoſed Chriſtern II of Denmark, his own niece by the mother [9]. But James being in alliance with Frederic, the reigning Daniſh monarch, the match was rejected as impolitic. Panter the ſecretary, paſſing through the north of England on his return, was ſeized; and Northumberland forced him to confeſs theſe particulars, which he carefully remitted to Henry. 1531

Charles V anxious to ſecure the alliance of James againſt France and England, whoſe junction in oppoſition to him was this year rendered ſtill more formidable by the proteſtant league of Smalcald, ſent an envoy to Scotland. To enforce the acceptance of Chriſtern's daughter he offered all Norway in dower: but the country was yet to conquer, and James had an ample domination of mountains within his own realm. The emperor, who, notwithſtanding the recent peace of Cambray, expected to be again attacked by Francis and Henry, eagerly deſired James to form an alliance, offenſive and defenſive: but the remoteneſs of the Auſtrian power forbad the Scotiſh king to ſacrifice the now ancient alliance with France, connected with his kingdom by ſo many commercial and political tyes [1]. Oct.

The enmity of James to his nobles increaſed with his wiſdom and years. Ignorant, and incapable, they were only diſtin-

[8] C. treaty, Harl. 4637, Vol. III, 16, dated 23 July 1531, for 100 years from 25 May 1531. O. Sir David Lindſay to the ſecretary of Scotland, 23 Aug. B. I, 298.

[9] O. Northumberland to Henry, 29 Sept. B. VII, 157.

[1] O. Sir Thomas Clifford to Henry, 21 Oct. B. III, 282.

guiſhed

1531 guiſhed as the diſturbers of the public tranquillity, and as the foes of induſtry. Angus he had baniſhed, Crawford he had ſtripped of a great part of his inheritance: Argyle was now in priſon; Murray and Maxwell were diſregarded; and Sir James Hamilton treated with deſerved contempt[2]. The clergy on the other hand, being friends of order and peace, and diſtinguiſhed by talents and learning, were highly honoured by the king. The archbiſhop of Glaſgow the chancellor, James Beton archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and his nephew David Beton abbot of Arbroth and lord privy ſeal, afterwards cardinal and chancellor, were the moſt eminent of the clergy, and choſen counſellors of James. As he could not foreſee the progreſs of the proteſtant faith, and the conſequent enmity to be entertained againſt his miniſters, the choice was laudable; if indeed there was a choice, when the church afforded the only men in his kingdom capable of political diſcuſſion and deciſion.

Yet Bothwell, irritated by his own former impriſonment, and by the contempt which James manifeſted of the ariſtocracy, ſecretly paſſed into the north of England, where he held a con-
21 Dec. ference with Northumberland, treaſonable againſt his ſovereign. He repreſented his own grievances, that James, forgetting the ſervices of his father and grandfather, had long held him in nonage, and given ſome of his lands to the Kers of Tividale, forbidding the earl to recover them by law, on pretext of his miſrule; that he had been impriſoned for half a year, and would have ſuffered death, had not his friends entered into a cognizance of twenty thouſand pounds, to reſtore him to durance when required. He expreſſed his hopes that Henry would aſſiſt the peers againſt James, who was in league with his enemies the emperor, the Daniſh king, and O'donnel

[2] O. Communications Northumberland and Bothwell, 21 Dec. 1531, B. V, 216.

an

an Iriſh chieftain. He mentioned the ſeverity ſhewn to Angus, Crawford, Argyle, and others: and if Henry will wage war againſt Scotland, and raiſe the nobles from their depreſſion, he offers his allegiance, and ſervices, with one thouſand gentlemen, and one thouſand commons; ſo that, with the additional aid of Angus, the Engliſh monarch might ſoon be in poſſeſſion of the capital city of Scotland[3]. But James, diſcovering theſe conferences, ordered Bothwell on his return to be again ſeized, and confined in the caſtle of Edinburgh[4]. 1531

Two important events diſtinguiſh this year, the inſtitution of the college of juſtice, and a war or rather an interruption of the peace with England. A parliament aſſembled, in which the various articles of the inſtitution of a new court of law were conſidered and paſſed[5]. The plan, which was in imitation of the parliament of Paris, had been formerly projected by the regent Albany. Before this inſtitution civil cauſes were adjudged by ſtanding committees, conſiſting of members of each of the three parliamentary orders, who made an annual circuit into each of the quarters of the kingdom. The plan was attended with many inconveniencies; the expence to which the members were expoſed rendered them reluctant in performing this duty, and precipitant in its accompliſhment. And the deputies of the commons being annually changed, if a ſuit were prolonged, the change of judges, who 1532 17 May

[3] Ibid. For the Odonnels ſee the reign of James IV. In 1516 a charter appears to Uchtred Odonnel, of Manchremoir in Kircudbright. Scotſt. Cal. It is ſuſpected that, in the reign of James III or IV, many Iriſh were permitted to ſettle in Galloway, whence our "wild Scots of Galloway," only known to late writers. [4] Buch. XIV, 42.

[5] Acts, f. 113. MS. Harl. 2363, f. 18, written by a contemporary, John Smyth monk of Kinloſs. The inaccurate edition of our ſtatutes by Murray of Glendook places this inſtitution in 1537: yet the king's ratification, p. 121, bears, in the nineteenth year of his reign, that is 1532!

1532 were again to be inſtructed in the whole procedure, rendered the embarraſſment and protraction extreme; not to mention that perhaps none of the members, except the clergy, were converſant in the laws. The new inſtitution has been attacked with rancour by Buchanan, whoſe proteſtant enmity to James, (becauſe that monarch did not raſhly exchange his faith for a new doctrine, not yet adopted by the majority of his people,) delights to miſrepreſent the motives, and actions, of a prince, whom, in the concluſion of his reign, he is conſtrained highly to applaud. That famous hiſtorian ſays, "there being hardly any laws in Scotland, except the acts of parliament, which are moſtly of the temporary claſs; and thoſe judges preventing, as far as their power will permit, the enaction of new ſtatutes; the properties of all the citizens are in fact committed to the arbitrement of fifteen men, whoſe power is perpetual, and whoſe controul is tyrannical, ſince their wills form their only laws[6]." This ſatire might have ſome juſtice when Buchanan wrote; but the numerous acts of parliament, the codes of deciſions, the power of appeal ſince the union of the kingdoms, the very attention of the judges to their own character, while ſeated in the tribunal before a ſagacious public in an enlightened age, all conſpire to overturn its preſent force. That the Engliſh mode of deciding even civil cauſes by jury is far more favourable to freedom, than this plan of a ſtanding jury, appointed and paid by the king, is moſt evident; and truth will reluctantly confeſs that few and rare are thoſe judges, or even lawyers, in Scotland, who have twined the wreath of eloquence around the altar of freedom. Yet, on the other hand, the inſtitution of the court of ſeſſion could flow from no arbitrary principle, as it was confeſſedly founded in imitation

[6] Buch. XIV, 43.

of

of the parliament of Paris; and it is well known that the latter court alone nouriſhed the feeble flame of liberty, while the night of deſpotiſm had enveloped France. 1532

It is unneceſſary to enter into the trivial detail of the various articles relating to this important inſtitution. Suffice it to obſerve that its power of deciſion extended to all cauſes, except thoſe of riot or oppreſſion, which paſſed to the privy council, while other criminal ſuits remained in the juriſdiction of the court of the High Juſticiary; and that the original number of its members were fifteen, half clergy, half laity, and a preſident; the firſt members being the abbot of Cambuſkenneth preſident, Richard Bothwell, John Dingwall, Henry White, Robert Shanwell, William Gibſon, Thomas Hay, Arthur Boyce [7], of the clergy; Scot of Balweery, Sir John Campbell, Adam Ottirburn, James Colvill, the juſtice clerk, Francis Bothwell, James Lawſon, of the laity. The annual expences of this court were ordered to be defrayed from the revenues of the clergy, who in vain oppoſed this taxation [8].

The brief interruption of the peace with England, by mutual inroads, demands the explanation of a curſory glance on the affairs of Europe. An alliance between Francis and Henry againſt the emperor had ſubſiſted for ſix years; half of the ſpace in war; the latter half in a peace, which was to continue for two years longer, though Francis now joined the league of Smalcald. Henry, eager in proſecuting his divorce from Catherine of Arragon, was about to liberate his kingdom

[7] A kinſman of Hector Boyce, the hiſtorian, as appears from his Lives of the Biſhops of Aberdeen; and the orthography of the name is evinced from this act. The firſt advocates choſen to plead before the court, were, Galbraith, Leſley, Spittal, Letham, Lauder, Kimirage, Marjoribanks, Johnſton. MS. Harl. 2363, f. 41. The number was limited to ten; ib.

[8] Leſl. 438. Buch. XIV, 43.

1532 from the ignominious chains of Rome. The treaty between him and Francis was renewed, and a conference appointed, which took place in October this year: and was followed, in December, by a fruitleſs interview between the emperor and the pope[9]. The impulſe which Henry had given to the popular opinion, by his deciſive conduct againſt Rome, agitated all Europe. The north of Germany, the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, had already embraced the proteſtant religion: England had abjured the Roman influence; France and Scotland abounded with the diſciples of Luther: and the criſis had ſuddenly become ſo new, and important, that the moſt ſkillfull politicians could not decide on its infinite combinations and conſequences.

James, who liſtened with pleaſure and inſtruction to the converſations of Lindſay, and other learned proteſtants in his kingdom, was far from being decided in his reſolutions concerning the new ſyſtem. A variance alſo appears to have prevailed between him and his clergy, on account of the expence of the new court of juſtice; and they had appealed to the pope. Amid ſuch diſpoſitions it was remote from the intereſts of James or Henry to proceed to hoſtilities; and the attempt to excite a war appears to have ariſen from diſaffected ſubjects of one or both kingdoms; but moſt probably from the obſtinate catholics of the north of England, where ignorance as uſual nurſed ſuperſtition. Certain it is that the Scotiſh hiſtorians aſcribe the diſcord to the Engliſh, while the chronicles of the latter nation confute not the charge. Leſley blames William lord Dacre, the warden of the weſtern marches, whoſe friendſhip to Angus induced him to interrupt the peace[1]: Buchanan heſitates not to doubt Henry's own intentions, who,

[9] Herbert's Henry VIII, ſub anno.

[1] Leſl. 435.

ſtrengthened

ſtrengthened by his intimate alliance with France, might hope 1532
to intimidate James from his connections with the pope and the emperor [2].

However this be, the firſt ſymptom of hoſtility which can be diſcovered is an engagement from Henry to Angus, for an 25 Aug.
annuity of one thouſand pounds yearly, on condition of his ſervices againſt his country [3]. James on his ſide ſhewed the moſt prompt vigour. The earl of Murray was appointed lieutenant general of the kingdom: and an army was ordered to aſſemble on the north of the Forth [4].

The earl of Northumberland, in a letter to Henry, informs Sept.
him that Mackay had gone from Scotland to Ireland with ſeven thouſand men, and another thouſand had recently been added; that their ravages were great though it was doubtful if they fell on Henry's ſubjects: that Argyle and Crawford might eaſily be won to the Engliſh intereſt, and Bothwell if delivered without indemnity; James having taken from Argyle and his heirs the government of the Hebudes, and many lands there, and in the extremity of Scotland, which were granted to Mackay: that the ſpiritual peers were inimical to James, except the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and the biſhops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, the king having endeavoured to raiſe ten thouſand crowns a year from the clergy; but the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's procured a bull, reſtricting his claim to four thouſand pounds ſterling, to be paid in four years [5].

[2] Buch. XIV, 44. [3] C. B. I, 129.

[4] Buch. ib. C. Northumberland to Henry, Sept. B. I, 124.

[5] B. I, 124. James had alſo taken from Crawford ſome lands in the Iſles, and aſſigned them to Mackay, ib. The Mackays lords of Rea, and proprietors of the wild and remote northweſt extremity of Scotland, ſpring from the houſe of Forbes; their original poſſeſſion was Far in Strathnavern; and ſo early as 1395, they contended with the houſe of Sutherland. The peerage of Rea was created in 1628. Dougl. Peer.

The

1532 Oct. The mutual inroads became frequent, and deſtructive. Some Scotiſh hamlets were burnt: and in return a village, within three miles of Warkworth, was given to ſuch a furious conflagration that Northumberland, lodging at the latter place, dreſſed himſelf at midnight, by the light of the devouring flames [7]. The Engliſh, led by ſir George Douglas, conſumed the town of Coldingham. James having demanded of his parliament, which met in September, a taxation for the maintenance of garriſons to the amount of three thouſand men, it was refuſed; and he retired in diſguſt to Stirling, while the earl of Murray's march towards the borders was delayed.

22 Oct. Northumberland expreſſes his intention of delivering Kelſo to the flames, ſo that no place near the borders might remain to receive a Scotiſh garriſon [8]. This ſcheme ſeems to have failed; but he detached fifteen hundred men who burnt Branxholm, the reſidence of Scot of Buccleugh a violent enemy of the Engliſh, and who had uſed ſatirical expreſſions againſt Henry. This inroad commenced at ſeven in the evening, and flaming villages marked its progreſs; and though Lidſdale was ſpared, to excite ſuſpicion againſt its owners, the captives amounted to forty, with three hundred cattle, and ſixty horſes [9].

20 Nov. In return the Scots aſſembled, to the amount of three thouſand: of whom three hundred were ſent to forage, and remain in ambuſh near the Cheviot mountains. The reſt advanced to the water of Bremiſh, taking ſpoil and captives. Buccleugh, Ceſsford, and Ferniherſt, conducted them with ſuch ſkill and valour, that the Engliſh bands, brought to oppoſe their progreſs, were forced to retire; and the Scots returned loaden with prey. To ſecure the unanimous ſupport of the frontiers,

[7] Fragment Northumberland to Dr. Fox, 22 Oct. B. VII, 178.
[8] Ibid. [9] C. Northumberland to Henry, no date, B. VII, 222.

James

James proclaimed a general amneſty, with the exception of Angus, his brother, and uncle [1]. 1532

As neither king iſſued a declaration of war, it is unneceſſary much to prolong the account of mutual inroads, which were carried on with almoſt unexampled ferocity. For Murray, the Scotiſh lieutenant general, had ordered each quarter of the kingdom to detach ſucceſſively a band of ſoldiers to the borders, there to remain for forty days, and aſſail the Engliſh limits with uninterrupted devaſtation [2]. On the part of England, Angus and his brother ſir George Douglas ſhone like deſtructive meteors, and blaſted the Scotiſh territory by their preſence, or proximity. The horrors of war, accuſtomed to attend the flowers of ſpring, now covered the ſnows of winter. Henry had detached ſir Arthur Darcy to Berwick with a troop of choſen men, yet the Scots, in one of their incurſions by the middle march, had advanced to Fowberry beyond Wooler, and returning with great prey, vaunted that "Darcy had brought them good fortune, while he and Angus ſlept well at Berwick [3]." Stung by this reproach, theſe leaders made a deſtructive inroad, gave Dunglas caſtle to the flames; and ravaged, in their return, the country around Duns [4]. But the only permanent feature of the war was the capture of a ſmall old fort, called Cawmyl, two miles from Berwick, and now termed Edrington caſtle, by Angus and his brother; of which 1533

[1] C. Northumberland to Henry, Nov. B. VI, 7.

[2] Buch. XIV, 44. [3] Hall, f. 212, 24 H 8.

[4] Buch. XIV, 44. From two letters of Northumberland to Henry, April 1533, B. VII, 260, 265, it appears that ſixty Engliſh had overcome 200 Scots led by John Home; that, on the 26th April, 200 Scots had invaded the Engliſh frontier, and burnt ſome villages, and the Engliſh had in return conſumed Edrington with avenging flames. The French embaſſador, M. de Beauvois, had proceeded from Alnwick to Coldingham; and Murray had proclaimed a ceſſation of hoſtilities, an example which Northumberland ungenerouſly did not follow.

they

1533 they maintained poſſeſſion with an obſtinacy which had almoſt fruſtrated the pacific intentions of the monarchs [5].

Henry had ſent lord Rochfort on an embaſſy to Francis, to impart his marriage with Ann Boleyn; and at the ſame time to mention the inroads of the Scots, and his deſign of chaſtiſing them [6]. But Francis could not with decency permit the interruption of peace between his ancient and modern ally; and determined to ſend embaſſadors to mediate their diſputes. Etienne D'Acques accordingly arrived in Scotland; and James, availing himſelf of the opportunity, deſired the renewal of the alliance concluded at Rouen, in 1517, by the regent Albany [7]. The French envoy having no inſtructions to that effect returned; and David Beton was ſent to accompliſh this object. If it were denied, he was charged with letters to the parliament of Paris, repreſenting the violations of the alliance by Francis, who on all occaſions ſacrificed the intereſts of Scotland to thoſe of England, formerly eſteemed their common enemy. If eventually conſtrained to deliver theſe letters, he was inſtantly to proceed to Flanders, apparently to form a ſtrict alliance with the emperor [8]. But Beton, a man of addreſs and ability, conducted the affair to an amicable termination.

To prevent an actual campaign between England and Scotland, another French embaſſador, Beauvois, arrived. James, by a letter of the fifteenth of May, conſented to a truce with

[5] See the ſubſequent negotiations.

[6] Herbert's Henry VIII, 369. [7] Buch. XIV, 45.

[8] Ibid. The application to the parliament of Paris was ſingular, but not unprecedented, a national council having as mentioned in the reign of James III, ordered a ſimilar mode of negotiation. The nature of the French parliaments ſeems to have been little known to other nations.

England,

England, at the requeſt of France [9]: and, on the nineteenth of June, he iſſued a commiſſion, dated at Air, to ſir James Colville and Adam Ottirburn his advocate, for that effect [1]. Magnus and the other Engliſh commiſſioners met thoſe of Scotland at Newcaſtle [2]; but the negotiations were embarraſſed with unforeſeen difficulties, and protracted till the month of October. 1533 June

One of the chief objects of the conference between the pope and the emperor, mentioned under the preceding year, was to oppoſe or puniſh the defection of Henry VIII from the Roman faith. The influence of Scotland in this deſign attracted the conſideration of the pontiff, who ſent an embaſſador to James [3]. Clement VII ſpared neither preſents nor profeſſions, to ſecure the amity of the Scotiſh monarch, and his attachment to the doctrines of Rome. A parliament aſſembling in May, James publickly declared his intentions of worſhipping at the altars of his fathers; and the laws againſt hereſy were enforced [4]. In return the pope confirmed the contributions to be levied from the clergy for three years [5].

Of the internal intrigues of Scotland at this period little is known. The earl of Bothwell yet remained a priſoner in the caſtle of Edinburgh; and he died the following year a captive or an exile. The archbiſhop of St. Andrew's appears about this time, to have been alſo committed to that fortreſs; probably on account of his oppoſition to the propoſed contributions from the church [6]. July

James,

[9] C. James to the French embaſſador, B. VII, 182, dated 15 May 1533, of his reign the 20th year. [1] Rymer, XIV, 480.

[2] Letters of the Engliſh commiſſioners to Henry, 30 June and 26 July, B. VII, 199, 176. [3] Leſl. 436. [4] Ibid.

[5] Keith, Hiſt. 9.

[6] O. Engliſh commiſſioners to Henry, 26 July, B. VII, 176. "Alſo, as it is ſaid, the king of Scotts at this preſent is at Edinburgh with all his counſaill

 ther,

1533 James, accompanied by the queen-mother and the papal embaſſador, journied through different regions of his realm[7]. His progreſs deſerves ſome attention, as illuſtrative of the manners of the times. Hunting was his favourite amuſement; and great was the ſlaughter of deer, roes, foxes, and of wolves, an animal then, and long after, not unfrequent in the Scotiſh foreſts. In Athole he was entertained, with ſingular magnificence, by the earl of that deſignation. In the midſt of a fair meadow a palace was conſtructed of green wood, entwined with the verdant boughs of birch: it was of a quadrangular form, and each corner was ſtrengthened by a maſſy and lofty tower. The turretted gate was not wanting; nor the ſecurity of the ditch, drawbridge, and portcullis. The floors were ſtrewn with odoriferous herbs and bloſſoms; the walls were enlightened by numerous windows of fine glaſs, and adorned with ſilken tapeſtry. Nor did the enchantment of the genii of the foreſt fail to ſupply all that could appeaſe or pamper the appetite of the royal hunter, and his woodland train. Meat and game of every deſcription abounded; and the ditches were filled with the moſt delicate fiſh. Wines, white, claret,

ther, and haith cauſed th' archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes, and th' erle Bothwell, to be ſette up in the caſtell of Edinburghe." This earl of Bothwell died in 1534, Peerage, p. 85: apparently right, for an apprizing is led againſt Patrick earl of Bothwell in Feb. 1536; and in July 1538 lands are granted to him, on lord Maxwell's reſignation; in the end of 1539 he grants charters, dated at Aberdeen. Scotſt. Cal. All indications that this was not the traitor.

At this time, as appears from different letters of the commiſſioners, a Welch gentleman, James ap Howel uncle of Rice ap Griffith, fled into Scotland with his wife, daughter and twelve attendants. James hearing that the daughter was "fair and fifteen," went to ſee her. O. Sir Thomas Wharton to Cromwell, Newcaſtle, 11 July, B. III, 258, 163, and B. VII, 176.

[7] Charters of the 12th Sept. 1533, are dated at Inverary. Scotſt. Cal. Hence apparently the error of Buchanan, and our late writers, concerning the celebrated voyage of James to the Iſles, which in fact did not take place till 1540.

muſcadel,

muſcadel, and malmſey, hyppocras, brandy, and the whole- 1533
ſome beverages from malt, gratified thirſt, or excited hilarity. The deſſert was crowned with the choiceſt fruits and confections: and the veſſels and linnen were worthy of a palace: nor were the luxuries of nocturnal repoſe, half of the life of man, unknown to the fairy manſion. The officers of the houſhold, and of the kitchen, were numerous, and ſelected with care. Here Athole treated his royal gueſt for three days, and nights; and the expence of the entertainment, enormous for the time, was computed at three thouſand pounds. The wonder of the papal embaſſador was yet further increaſed, when, upon the departure of James, the whole edifice, preſented one conflagration; and the monarch only obſerved, with a ſmile, "It is the cuſtom of our highlanders to burn their lodgings [8]."

Meanwhile the negotiations between the Engliſh and Scotiſh commiſſioners, at Newcaſtle, proceeded with great ſlowneſs; the minute and ridiculous affair of the reſtitution of Cawmyl, or Edrington, to Scotland forming the ſole apparent obſtacle. Beauvois, the French embaſſador, uſed every exertion for conciliation; the place was not capable of holding ſixteen perſons; might eaſily be taken by the Scots, while it was remote from any Engliſh aſſiſtance: but the Engliſh mentioned the prizes which the Scots had taken at ſea, and inſiſted that no reſtitution, except mutual and complete, could be granted [9]. Beauvois in July left the commiſſioners [1] to ſettle a buſineſs, which they themſelves could not mention with gravity; and it was not till October, after creating more expence to their country by their ſalaries, than the old fort was worth, that the object

[8] Lindſay, 226—228. [9] B. III, 161, 163. B. II, 101.

[1] B. III, 163. A letter from one of the commiſſioners to Henry, B. VII, 199, ſtyles this great conqueſt "certain olde howſes and vaultes in Scotland."

1533 was abandoned by the Scots, and a truce of only one year was
1 Oct. adjuſted, till an embaſſy from James ſhould eſtabliſh a more laſting treaty [2].

Some tumults aroſe in Scotland, occaſioned by the aſſaſſination of Lindſay a potent baron. Murray and Argyle were engaged in open enmity againſt Huntley, and the king in vain attempted a reconcilement [3]. Ker of Ferniherſt, and other Kers and Humes, were impriſoned at Glaſgow and Dunbarton, probably on account of ſome freſh diſorders on the frontiers [4].

1534 A commiſſion was iſſued to William Stuart biſhop of Aber-
16 Feb. deen, and Adam Ottirburn of Reedhall now knighted, to proceed to England, and conclude a laſting pacification [5]. After ſome negotiation, at London, with the Engliſh commiſſioners
11 May Audley, Cromwell, and others, a ſolemn peace was ordained, to continue during the lives of the monarchs, but to expire a
12 May year after the deceaſe of the firſt who left this life [6]. By a ſeparate inſtrument the caſtle of Cawmyl or Edrington was redelivered to the Scots; and the reſidence of Angus, his brother, and uncle, in England was permitted [7]. The treaty was ſoon after ratified, with more than uſual ſolemnity, by both kings. The biſhop of Durham, Sir Thomas Clifford, and Dr. Magnus, brought the original counterpart to James; who
July ſwore to its obſervance at Holyroodhouſe, in the preſence of

[2] Rymer, XIV, 480. There were four Engliſh commiſſioners and their pay was twenty ſhillings a day to each, B. VII, 207, a letter to Cromwell, 9 Sept. but it was afterwards reſtricted to 13*s.* 4*d.*: the "men of war" had conduct money, and wages; and ſir George Douglas was paid for keeping Cawmyl. O. Lawſon to Cromwell, 27 Sept. B. III, 150.

[3] Fragment Northumberland to Henry, B. III, 229.

[4] C. Lady Dacre to Dacre, B. VI, 135.

[5] Rymer, XIV, 483. [6] Ib. 529. [7] Ib. 538.

two

two thouſand ſpectators, while the air reſounded with muſical inſtruments, and acclamations of joy [s]. 1534

The biſhop of Aberdeen was intruſted with ſome ſecret commiſſions. He was, if poſſible, to procure the marriage of James with Mary the daughter of Henry; and moſt privately to adjuſt a meeting of the two monarchs and Francis [9]. But Henry was now little diſpoſed to favour the elevation and independance of Mary, who had warmly reſented her mother's divorce; and James, irritated by the refuſal, protracted the conference. Yet the order of the garter was remitted to James, by the hands of lord William Howard brother of the duke of Norfolk: and the young monarch ſoon after received that of the golden fleece from the emperor, and that of St. Michael from Francis [1].

While Henry was employed in the emancipation of his realm from the Roman ſuperſtition, James was rivetting the chain upon his ſubjects by terror. Henry Foreſt a benedictine friar, and Norman Gourlay, and David Straton, two gentlemen, were convicted of the Lutheran hereſy, and given to the flames [2]. James was induced to indulge his clergy in theſe cruel exhibitions, more perhaps from political views, than from his native ſuperſtition. Henry's reformation of religion was of a ſingular Auguſt

[s] C. the Engliſh embaſſadors to Henry, 9 July, B. VIII, 163. Leſl. 440. It was probably on this occaſion that a long and curious anathema, equal to that in Triſtram Shandy, was publiſhed by Gawin archbiſhop of Glaſgow, chancellor, againſt any infringers of the peace on the borders. See a copy, ſigned by Dr. Bothwell apoſtolic protonotary, in Cal. B. II, 241.

[9] O. Aberdeen to Cromwell, May, B. III, 278.

[1] Leſl. 439. In a liſt of writings in the Harl. MS. 4637, Vol. III, f. 81, is mentioned a letter of Howard, and Thomas Wall garter king at arms, *diſpenſing* with James's aſſumption of the order, and dated Edin. 21 Feb. 1535. Guthrie V, 145, mentions diſpatches of Henry and Howard at this time; but that careleſs writer has omitted to point out in whoſe poſſeſſion they were.

[2] Leſl. 440. Spottiſwoode, 66. Keith, 8.

and

1534 dubious kind; he ſeemed to have deprived the pope of the ſupremacy of the Engliſh church, merely that he might ſeize that lucrative office himſelf: and, though the event was to prove highly beneficial to his ſubjects, yet his motives were well known to be contemptible, and unworthy of the imitation of the Scotiſh monarch. While Henry at once perſecuted the devotees of the pope, and the diſciples of Luther, and ſet all law at open defiance, James can only be accuſed of permitting the ancient laws of his realm to be put in execution. The political connections between Scotland and France alſo conſtrained James, if he did not wiſh to violate all the maxims of his anceſtors, not to imitate and ſupport the example of Henry, but to preſerve the ſyſtem embraced by Francis. The latter monarch, after ſome heſitation, and even ſome inclination to the Lutheran doctrine, had, in the preceding October, held a conference at Marſeilles with the pontiff Clement VII; and his ſecond ſon being there married to Catherine of Medici, niece of Clement, Francis became firmly decided in favour of the papal ſee [3]. While the ſucceſs of the proteſtant religion in Scotland was to inſtigate the writers of that perſuaſion to brand James as a tyrant, it is impoſſible for a politician, or philoſopher, to cenſure his conduct, as he was only hurried along in the neceſſary ſtream of public affairs. The executions on account of religion during his reign are few, nor do they equal thoſe of one year of Henry: the attachment of James to his clergy was far from being ſervile, as his demand of contributions from them, and his impriſonment of the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, may declare: and there is reaſon to impute the perſecutions of the reformed not to any ſanguinary or ſuper-

[3] Guicciardini lib. XX, p. 471.

ſtitious

ſtitious motives, but to the unavoidable tide of political con- 1534
nection, and opinion, in his dominions.

In the courſe of the ſummer James made a progreſs of juſtice into the northern parts of the kingdom, enforcing the dominion of the law; reprehending the negligence, and puniſhing the guilt, of culpable magiſtrates [4].

The Engliſh king, having now completely broken the papal 1535
domination in his realm, and being about to ſuppreſs the monaſteries, and appropriate to himſelf a part of the unwieldy and indecent wealth of the church, eſteemed it more and more expedient to ſecure the amity of James, as that monarch might be induced to avail himſelf of the diſaffection of the Engliſh catholics, and by their help aſpire to the crown, or at leaſt embarraſs the procedures of Henry. So firmly had the connection between Jeſus Chriſt and his vicar, the pope, been rooted in the mind of ignorance, that the Scots, in common with the other catholics, regarded Henry's conduct as an abjuration of chriſtianity, or indeed of all religion; blind zeal being ever prompt to brand any ſlight deviation from its own tenets with the name of atheiſm. To efface ſuch impreſſions, Henry diſpatched as his envoy to Scotland Dr. William Barlow, his chaplain, and biſhop elect of St. Aſaph, an eloquent preacher, and a warm enemy to the papal uſurpations [5]. He was inſtructed to preſent to James a book now publiſhed by Henry, called "The doctrine of a chriſtian man," in which the ſuperſtitions of Rome were expoſed; and to examine the inclinations of the Scots on this ſubject, and even, if James ſhould grant permiſſion, to diſplay his eloquence in the pulpit. But Barlow informed ſecretary Cromwell [6] that

[4] Leſl. 440. [5] Herbert, 405, 413. Buch. XIV, 50.

[6] O. B. III, 194. He maliciouſly obſerves that in Scotland there was abundance of "myſerable beggars, and moneyleſs fouldyoures."

the

1535 the council of James conſiſted only of clergy devoted to Rome, "the pope's peſtilent creatures, and very limbs of the devil," as he charitably expreſſes himſelf; that it was rumoured by an officer belonging to Albany that France intended to declare in favour of the pope againſt England, and Scotland would as uſual imitate her old ally; that James was himſelf of an excellent and generous diſpoſition, but his ſpiritual council decidedly inimical to Henry; that it was ſarcaſtically ſaid that he had only come to preach; and he would exert his elocution againſt the papal abuſes if James would permit. But the clergy, the moſt opulent order in Scotland, had too much influence to leave any hope of ſuch permiſſion; and they forbad James to contaminate his eyes with the heretical production of the Engliſh king.

Henry, who was a complete ſtranger to the arts of conciliation, with his uſual imprudence now ſent lord William
April Howard, a ſecond time, as his envoy into Scotland; a man of haughty character, and unexperienced in affairs of deliberation; and whoſe preſence, as being of the family who ſlew his father, could only give pain to James. The meeting between the Engliſh and Scotiſh monarchs, propoſed in the preceding year, was to have taken place in France, and in the preſence of its king. But Henry's paſſage to that realm being poſtponed, in the preſent new and critical ſtate of his own dominions, a conference with James at York was the object of Howard's miſſion; which, as was to have been ex-
25 Apr. pected in ſuch hands, proved unſucceſsful. In a letter from Edinburgh [7], this envoy informs his ſovereign that he arrived at Stirling on good friday, where he found the Scotiſh king; who, when the conference was propoſed, inquired if the envoy had brought any memoir of Henry's intended topics of con-

[7] O. Cal. B. II, 194.

verſation,

verſation, that he might ſhew it to his council; Howard replied that ſuch a procedure was never heard of before; and he imputes this ſingularity to the advice of the clergy, whoſe malice would even bind the tongues of princes: the envoy was then introduced to the council, who declared that, if James had given them information before he had promiſed a conference, they would not have granted their conſent; but ſince the royal promiſe was procured the interview muſt take place at Newcaſtle, and not at York, nor before michaelmas, as James would not be prepared before that time. Howard objected the difficulty of Henry's accommodation between York and Newcaſtle; the delay he aſcribes to a letter of Ottirburn, inſinuating that Henry was himſelf inclined to procraſtinate. The queen-mother was moſt eager for the conference between the kings; and even expreſſed herſelf with ſuch warmth, that her ſon was diſpleaſed at her interference [8]. 1535

Buchanan reports that, to induce James to conſent to this meeting, Henry offered his daughter, with the apparent ſucceſſion to the kingdom; and in the mean time the titles of duke of York, and lord lieutenant of England [9]. But no original evidence is extant of ſuch high propoſals. The Hamiltons oppoſed the conference, as dreading the marriage of James: the clergy, from apprehenſions of Henry's influence in promoting the defection of their monarch from Rome. They repreſented to him the danger of entruſting his perſon

[8] Howard adds that the marriage with Vendome's daughter was fruſtrated, that James intended to marry lord Erſkine's daughter, by whom he had a child; and that though ſhe was married [to Douglas of Lochleven] a divorce was ready. He ſuſpiciouſly mentions Sir James Hamilton, as the ſole maſter of this ſecret. All this was mere ſcandal; and it is no wonder that James blamed Howard for ſuch infamous reports. Keith, Hiſt. 18, note.

[9] Buch. XIV, 50.

1535 in an inimical land; the kings of which had not in former times obſerved the moſt ſcrupulous faith to thoſe of Scotland: they appealed to his policy, and his piety, in ſupport of the religion of his fathers; and they laviſhed preſents to all who had any influence with James, that they might diſſuade him from the dreaded interview [1].

7 June A parliament was held at Edinburgh, being the firſt of this reign of which a multitude of ſtatutes is preſerved [2]. As we approach more modern times, and the ſtate of manners and government becomes more known from other ſources, it is unneceſſary to narrate with equal minuteneſs the various ordinances of the national council. Yet a rapid idea of the moſt important may not be improper. The progreſs of the proteſtant doctrine having inſtigated many to contemn eccleſiaſtical cenſures, they were ordered to be enforced by the civil power. Several ſalutary ſtatutes of the firſt and ſecond James are confirmed, and ſtrengthened; as thoſe concerning the planting of wood, the herring fiſhery, and others, which while they evince the good intentions of this legiſlature, impreſs at the ſame time a melancholy truth, that the courſe of a century had effected little or no progreſs in the civilization of the realm: and that, to adopt the terms of the preſent ordinances, "it was unprofitable and uſeleſs to make laws, and ſtatutes for policy to be had, except they be kept." To improve the breed of horſes it was ordered, in imitation of an Engliſh ſtatute, that ſtallions of a large ſize ſhould be nurtured. As the borderers had been accuſtomed to make inroads into the induſtrious provinces, and ſeizing the cattle to convey them into England for ſale, a decree appears, prohibiting not only the ſale of cattle and ſheep to the Engliſh, but even that of corn [3], fiſh, and ſalt. The

[1] Buch. XIV, 51. [2] Acts, f. 118—126. Keith, 12.
[3] In the original *victual*, a Scoticiſm.

act

act concerning the fiſhery in the weſtern ſeas was alſo rein- 1535
forced[4]. But the moſt important ordinance concerns the burroughs. As many peers and landed gentlemen had procured themſelves to be elected into the magiſtracy, and under colour of protecting the towns, had dilapidated their reſources, it was ordained that the magiſtrates ſhould thenceforth be choſen ſolely from among the ſubſtantial burgeſſes, and merchants; and that they ſhould annually produce their accompts at the exchequer, after a public notice of fifteen days, that all the inhabitants might have an opportunity of examination and objection.

The repeated delays of the king's marriage excited the anxiety of an affectionate people. In caſe of his deceaſe Albany, the next heir to the monarchy, was now advanced in years, and had no iſſue; and the houſe of Hamilton indulged warm hopes of ſucceeding to the throne, though perhaps at the expence of a civil war. That family was ſtrong in wealth, and vaſſalage; and the imprudent youth of James expoſed him to every danger. An aſſaſſin might aſſail his life, while, in fatal ſecurity, he was attended by only one or two friends, on his nocturnal viſits to his miſtreſſes. Chance might perform the office of crime, while his courage expoſed him to every danger. Often did he intruſt his perſon to every viciſſitude of the climate, paſſing days and nights on horſeback, and ſnatching a ſcanty and fortuitous meal: often did he ſuddenly ruſh among deſperate bands of freebooters, attended only by a few ſervants, and the terror of the royal name[5].

[4] Acts, f. v. 120. The ſtates approved the king's proceſs for treaſon againſt Robert Leſley after his death, though no precedent appeared, f. v. 125. Glendook, 122, gives this act as of 1540. The revocation of 1537 is, in the firſt edition, given at 1535. Both are ſometimes inaccurate.

[5] Buch. XIV, 46.

1535 Charles V had, in this or the preceding year, ſent Godeſchalco Errigo from Spain to Scotland, to propoſe a matrimonial alliance to James; but the project again failed[6]. A ſolemn embaſſy proceeded to France, conſiſting of the earl of Murray lieutenant general of the kingdom, William Stuart biſhop of Aberdeen, and lord Erſkine; in order, if poſſible, to accompliſh the nuptials of James. Francis had recommended a bride of the royal blood, Marie de Bourbon, daughter of Charles duke of Vendome; but James heſitated, for he aſpired to Magdalen eldeſt ſurviving daughter of the French monarch; while her father oppoſed this marriage, as her conſumptive ſtate of health rendered her claim to the titles of wife and mother extremely dubious. But the embaſſadors were to reſide in France, till James ſhould ſend a decided mandate on the ſubject. Their miſſion was indeed chiefly a matter of pomp; for David Beton, who had remained in France, was the active negotiator, and by his abilities and addreſs overcame the Engliſh influence in the French cabinet[7].

Aug.

To apologize for the failure of the promiſed interview, James ſent Sir Adam Ottirburn to Henry, to repreſent the improper conduct of lord William Howard, who had been attended into Scotland by ſome followers of the Douglaſes; and had, on his diſappointment, uſed menaces to the Scotiſh council[8]. But Ottirburn himſelf liſtening to the complaints of Angus and his brother, James, upon diſcovering theſe prac-

[6] Buch. XIV, 47.

[7] Leſl. 440. Buch. XIV, 49, but he antedates this embaſſy a year. Sir Thomas Erſkine of Kirkboddo, the ſecretary, appears to have been ſent to aſſiſt Beton; for a commiſſion to him to treat concerning the marriage in France, dated 12 Feb. 1534, appears in Scotſtarvet's Calendars.

[8] Keith, 18. Drummond, 203.

tices,

tices, betrayed the warmeſt reſentment, which on the firſt opportunity he afterwards ſignalized on the imprudent embaſſador [9]. 1535

The remainder of this year was not diſtinguiſhed by any important event. The ſilence of hiſtory commonly proclaims the happineſs of a country. The ſpirited conduct, and wiſe regulations, of James had terminated the diſorders occaſioned by a long minority; feared by the clergy and nobles, and beloved by his people, he was now to enjoy the fruits of his patriotic toil, in the uninterrupted continuance of public tranquillity.

[9] O. John Penman to Sir G. Douglas, 19 Oct. 1536, B. III, 293.

BOOK XV.

BEING

THE LAST PART OF THE REIGN OF JAMES V.

Embaſſy from the pope—Forbes accuſed—voyage of James to France—intrigues of Angus—marriage of James—he arrives—his deſigns—death of Magdalen of France—execution of Forbes—of lady Glamis—military preparations—proteſtants perſecuted—James weds Mary of Guiſe—Engliſh affairs—cardinal Beton—proteſtants burnt—negotiation—Sadler's embaſſy—progreſs of the reformation—voyage of James to the Orkneys and Hebudes—execution of Sir James Hamilton—act of annexation—parliament—death of the infant princes—of Margaret of England—encouragement of manufactures—Beton's embaſſy—Sadler again in Scotland—Engliſh affairs—Scotiſh clergy inſtigate a war—hoſtilities—rout of Solway—death of James V.

1536 Feb. TO evince his gratitude to James for his attachment to the Roman ſee, and to ſtimulate him to withſtand the ſolicitations of the Engliſh king, the new pontiff, Paul III, ſent Giovanni Antonio Campeggio on a ſolemn embaſſy into Scotland. He was inſtructed to repreſent Henry's conduct in the moſt odious colours; his divorce, his rapid marriage with Ann Boleyn, his ſchiſm from the catholic faith, attended by the recent

recent execution of Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter for denying his 1536
ſupremacy of the church, afforded ample topics of declamation. An alliance between the emperor, Francis, and James, to puniſh the ſacrilegious monarch was hinted; but a war exiſting between the two firſt mentioned princes, the ſcheme was dubious and dilatory. The idle pageants of a cap, and ſword, ſolemnly 22 Feb.
conſecrated by the vicar of Chriſt on the night of his nativity, were added; not without an inſinuation that the beſt uſe of the weapon would be, to direct its point againſt the Engliſh hereſiarch [1]. It alſo appears that the rage of Paul, ſtripping Henry of his ambitious title of defender of the faith, now conferred that vain decoration on James [2], whoſe prudence however prevented its open aſſumption. A permiſſion to exact further contributions from the clergy probably preſented to the Scotiſh monarch more forcible motives for continuing his devotion to the papal faith. Yet, though James had notified to Henry, both by lord William Howard and by Ottirburn, his wiſh that his uncle would refrain from further perſuaſions to induce him to follow his example in eccleſiaſtical affairs, he March
continued to diſtinguiſh Henry by the honourable appellation of his father, and to teſtify the warmeſt deſire of a future interview [3].

The embaſſadors of James in France concluded a marriage 29 Mar.
with Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome, in conſequence of a power from James, dated at Stirling the twenty-ninth of the preceding December. This nuptial treaty was ſolemnly ſigned by Francis, and by Albany, then on a bed of ſickneſs, and it is believed, of death [4]. Yet it was afterwards annulled by the viſit of James himſelf to France.

John

[1] Drummond, 201. [2] Herbert, 519.

[3] O. Margaret to Henry 16 March, Cal. B. I, 158.

[4] Leagues France and Scotland MS. Harl. 1244, ſub annis. The inſtrument bears that, as Albany was ſick, the notaries had carried it to his houſe: and he ſubſcribes

1536 12 June John the eldeſt ſon of lord Forbes was accuſed by the earl of Huntley of high treaſon, in having conſpired to ſhoot the king with a culverin, during his reſidence at Aberdeen. Huntley was bound to ſubſtantiate the charge; and Forbes was committed to priſon at Edinburgh. Six months after, his father was alſo impriſoned, while James was abſent in France, till a ſecurity of ten thouſand marks ſhould be given that the conſpirator ſhould appear to undergo a trial [5].

Irritated by the repeated obſtacles to his marriage, doubtful of the private ſchemes of his negotiators, eager to accompliſh an object ardently wiſhed by himſelf and his ſubjects, ſecure of the tranquillity of his kingdom, the young ſovereign determined on a voyage to France. The ſcheme was planned with the utmoſt ſecrecy, to elude the vigilance of Henry. And James 26 July ſuddenly embarking at Leith, accompanied by only two or three ſmall veſſels, proceeded towards France; but the wind proving contrary he was obliged to return: and the pilot enquiring where he ſhould direct his courſe, the king anſwered "Any where except to England [6]." He then ſailed round the northern extremity of Scotland, and by the iſles of Leuis and Skey, expecting that the wind might become favourable; but finding this hope vain, or as ſome writers aſſert, the courſe of the ſhip being changed by ſome favourers of the Hamiltons, while James was aſleep, he was conſtrained to land on the iſle

ſubſcribes JEHAN. Du Chat, in his learned notes on Rabelais, Vol. III, p. 65, ſays Albany died in 1536.

[5] Arnot's Criminal Trials, Edin. 1785, 4to, p. 1. In Oct. 1530 a remiſſion had been granted to John *maſter* of Forbes for the ſlaughter of Alexander Seton of Meldrum; and for his traitorous "ſtaying from the king's army at Solway and Werk [in the time of Albany's regency?]" Scotſt. Cal. Concerning the murder, ſee Lindſay, 204. In July 1532 the king took ſome lands from his father, as a pledge that he, lord Forbes, would not diſturb the town of Aberdeen. Ibid. So turbulent had this family been; ſo deſerved was the wrath of James.

[6] Buch. XIV, 52.

of

of Bute, whence proceeding to the neareſt port he returned to Stirling [7]. But the deſign being now public, it became neceſſary for the king's honour to put it into immediate execution; and greater and more ſecure preparations were uſed: and to conciliate the favour of heaven, and propitious winds, James performed a pilgrimage on foot from Stirling to the chapel of the virgin of Loretto, ſituated near Muſſelburgh [8]. 1536

A commiſſion of regency was ſigned by the king, conſtituting James Beton archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, Gawin Dunbar archbiſhop of Glaſgow the chancellor, with the earls of Huntley, Montroſe, and Eglinton, and lord Maxwell, to manage the public affairs during the abſence of their ſovereign [9]. James then ſailed in a ſquadron of five veſſels; and was accompanied by the earls of Argyle, Arran, and Rothes, the lords Fleming, Boyd, and other men of rank, with about three or four hundred attendants; and, after a proſperous navigation of eleven days, he arrived at Dieppe [1]. 29 Aug. 30 Aug. 10 Sept.

After vain negotiations for peace, Francis was engaged in open war with Charles V, who, at the head of ſixty thouſand men, had paſſed the Var, and was now before Marſeilles; whence, on the day after the arrival of James, he was forced to retire in confuſion. Nor did the imperialiſts meet with much better ſucceſs in Picardy. James could hardly have viſited France at a more auſpicious period. The French monarch was at Lyon, inſpecting the important affairs of the

[7] Buch. XIV, 52. Leſl. 441. [8] Leſl. 442. [9] Crawf. Officers, 82.

[1] O. Angus to Cromwell, Berwick 30 Sept. B. III, 198. Leſl. 442. Buch. XIV, 52. Lindſay, 240, ludicrouſly fables that the emperor fled on the report that James had arrived with an army to aſſiſt France. James diſembarked on the 10th by all accounts: Charles raiſed the ſiege of Marſeilles on the 11th, L'Art. de Verif. 574, when it was impoſſible that the tidings could have reached him. Honeſt Mezeray, Abr. IV, 598, to ſupport the tale, gives James an army of 16,000!

1536 ſouthern part of his territories, and James embraced the opportunity of proceeding to Vendome, the reſidence of the duke of that title, and of beholding his intended bride with his own eyes. She diſpleaſed him; and the nuptial treaty was annulled [2]. James then journied to Lyon, and was met at Mont Tarare, near that city, by Henry now dauphin of France, his elder brother Francis having died by poiſon on the twelfth day of Auguſt this year. This prince conducted James to his father, who received him with diſtinguiſhed marks of affection and eſteem. They immediately proceeded to Paris, where, though the court was in mourning for the dauphin, the reception of James was celebrated with all the accuſtomed pomp and magnificence of France, and of the age of Francis I [3]. Angus endeavoured to avail himſelf of the interceſſion of Henry with the French king, and of the general joy, to obtain a remiſſion for himſelf and his brother, but in vain: in revenge his ſecret agent who attended the motions of James, a clergyman named John Penman, remitted to Sir George Douglas malicious and ſlanderous accounts of the actions and intentions of the Scotiſh monarch, from which however a few curious facts may be gleaned [4].

Sir

[2] Leſl. 442. Buch. XIV, 52.—Lindſay, 241, gives a lively account of the interview.

[3] Leſl. 443. Lindſay, 242, diſplays his uſual vivacity. Drummond, 205, places the meeting of Francis and James at the chapel between Tarray and St. Sophorin, in the country of Lyon. St. Saforin is to the ſouth of Lyon.

[4] See theſe curious letters, the firſt dated Rouen, 22 Oct. the ſecond Paris, 29 Oct. in Cal. B. III, 293, ſeq. They were taken at ſea, as the copies bear. For ſome of their ſcandalous expreſſions ſee the tranſactions of 1537. Their language is intolerably groſs. Among other pieces of ſatire, the writer ſays that James is ſo fooliſh as to ride the ſtreets of Paris, with a ſervant or two, ſuppoſing himſelf unknown, though the very car-men pointing with their fingers exclaimed, Voila le Roy d'Eſcoiſſe. He adds that ſome ſaid James would demand

Sir James Hamilton was now overwhelmed with diſgrace, 1536
and Oliver Sinclair was already diſtinguiſhed by the favour of his ſovereign, and accompanied him on this expedition. The earl of Murray evinced diſcontent by the freedom of his ſpeech; and was perhaps diſguſted by the rejection of the marriage treaty which he had accompliſhed. Argyle was the only enemy of Angus who attended James. As the caſtle of Dunbar, with its ſtrong artillery, was ſtill retained for Albany, lord Erſkine and the abbot of Coupar were ſent, with powers from Francis, to receive it in the name of James its proper maſter. On the twenty-ninth of October it was already determined that the Scotiſh king ſhould marry Magdalen daughter of Francis; and

mand the daughter of France; others that his ultimate requeſt would be Dunbar, a ſhip, and two or three horſes—that James had ſent love-tokens to Lochleven's wife (his former miſtreſs,) and, as ſome report, would marry her—that none dared to mention a Douglas to him—that he admitted counſel from none—that the earl of Moray contemptuouſly enquired for Sir James Hamilton his minion, who, as James ſaid, had failed in his duty—and that Moray muſt be an enemy to James, elſe he could not diſplay ſuch malice in his converſations with the friends of Angus.

In the ſecond letter Penman mentions that many accuſed Sir James Hamilton, and James ſwore he ſhould feel his vengeance; and that if he, the king, only looked on Angus, Hamilton would droop, "for by God's wounds when he and Angus met, Hamilton always turned the back ſeams of his hoſe." He alſo eſteems the period favourable for the reſtitution of the houſe of Angus, as Francis could refuſe nothing to Henry.

The firſt letter is ſigned "*Mr.* John Penven," the uſual mark of a clergyman; and that he was in high confidence appears from the tenor of the letters, and from the ſignature of the ſecond, "by your own unfeignedly J. P." They are copies, and erroneouſly bear on the back to have been directed to lord Douglas, a ſtyle which however Sir George may have aſſumed in England.

Though the copyiſt have read *Penven*, there is no room to doubt that this perſon is the identical *Sir* John Penman, (a not uncommon Scotiſh name,) who is mentioned in the act of remiſſion to Angus and Sir George Douglas, 17 Nov. 1544, as having been employed in carrying treaſonable letters from the Douglaſes to England, in the beginning of that year. Epiſt. R. S. II, 322, 324.

1536 the twenty-fifth of November was ſaid to be appointed for the nuptials; on which day James was alſo to give away at the altar the daughter of Vendome, his once intended bride, to the count of Auvais [5]: and the future ſon-in-law of Francis was treated with all the diſtinctions allotted to the dauphin.

26 Nov. Accordingly the marriage treaty was ſigned at Blois. The bride was endowed with one hundred thouſand crowns of the ſun: and a penſion of thirty thouſand livres during her life was added. The perpetual alliance between France and Scotland was alſo renewed [6]. But the marriage was deferred for more than a month, that ſufficient time might be left for magnificent preparations.

1537 1 Jan. In the preſence of the kings of France and Navarre, ſeven cardinals, the twelve peers of France chiefly as uſual repreſented by proxies, and a numerous and ſplendid appearance of ſecular and eccleſiaſtical dignity, of valour and beauty, James was wedded to Magdalen, at the church of Notre Dame in Paris [7]. The dazzling pomp of the ceremony was attended with unanimous acclamations of public joy; and was followed by tournaments, plays, and other exhibitions of ſingular grandeur, and worthy of the gorgeous opulence of the firſt court in Europe. Perpetual feſtivals entertained the king and queen of Scotland, till the month of May permitted them to return in ſafety to their own kingdom; when they left France, and proceeded on their voyage, loaded with honours, and with an exuberance of precious gifts, preſented by the magnificent generoſity of Francis I, the father of arts and letters in his realm [8].

[5] So the MS. perhaps Beauvais.

[6] Leagues France and Scotland, MS. ſub anno.

[7] Leſl. 444. Buch. XIV, 52. Lindſay, 245.

[8] Leſl. 445. Lindſay, 247.

Beſides

Beſides the Scotiſh veſſels, which only amounted to four, a 1537
ſquadron of French ſhips, under the command of the vice-admiral, conducted the royal pair, who arrived at Leith on Whitſun-eve, at ten o'clock of the night [9]. Nor is it unworthy 19 May
of remark that, having been retarded by the wind oppoſite to Scarborough, ſome of the diſcontented Engliſh came on board, and repreſenting their grievances under Henry's tyranny, warmly ſolicited James to enter England with an army, aſſuring him of every ſupport; a ſcene which was alſo repeated at another place [1]. The biſhop of Limoges was the only man of rank who accompanied the queen [2]; who, upon her landing, lifted a handful of ſand to her mouth, and thanking God for her ſafety, prayed with emphatic ſenſibility for happineſs to the land, and its people [3]. The French veſſels ſoon after returned, except the Salamander, a large ſhip of war, which, with its complete ammunition, was among the preſents of Francis to James [4]. Magdalen, whoſe countenance and manners were impreſſed with the moſt winning ſweetneſs, and over whoſe charms the paleneſs of diſeaſe ſeemed only to ſpread a veil more tender and alluring, was received with the warmeſt regard by the people; and entered the capital amid ſplendid proceſſions, and decorations, and peals of joy and applauſe [5], within forty days to be converted into funereal ſables, and dirges for her death.

[9] O. Sir Thomas Clifford to Cromwell, Berwick 26 May, B. VII, 216. O. Clifford to Henry, ſame date, ib. 230: Clifford aſſerts that James, when he paſſed Berwick, ſaid if he lived a year, he would break a ſpear on an Engliſhman's breaſt. [1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

[3] Lindſay, 248. Drummond, 206. [4] Clifford's letter.

[5] Leſl. 446. Lindſay, 248. A particular deſcription of theſe ſcenes of triumph may be found in Sir David Lindſay's poem on the death of this queen. An idea of the pageants of the times may be formed from Veſpaſian, B. II, an illuminated MS. giving a detail of the entry of Mary of England, wife of Louis XII, into Paris.

During

1537 During the abſence of James few tranſactions of moment had occurred. The lawleſs part of his ſubjects had been ſo much daunted by his vigorous adminiſtration, that the regency was quietly obeyed, though the original letters [6] whiſper a ſlight commotion in the north, which muſt have been eaſily ſuppreſſed. While James was at Rouen, on his return, he on the third, or more probably on the twenty third, of April made a ſolemn revocation of all grants paſt in his minority, prejudicial to the crown, as having then attained the age of twenty five years or compleat majority [7]; a practice uſual with his predeceſſors. Henry, jealous of his intimate connection with France, and ſuſpicious of the papal influence over him and Francis, had in the end of the preceding, and the beginning of this year, ſent ſucceſſive envoys into Scotland, to inſpect the ſtate of affairs, and the diſpoſition of the people, who were ſuppoſed to be excited by the clergy into a deſire of war with England; an event the more to be dreaded, as great diſcontents prevailed in that country. The ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries had produced the inſurrection headed by Aſke and others, in the north, which continued for ſome months before its complete eradication could be effected [8].

Ralph Sadler was the firſt and chief envoy to Scotland, and commenced a career of abilities which frequently commanded his future ſervices between the kingdoms, for half a century, his laſt embaſſy being to James VI in 1587. He was, in

[6] Inſtructions to Ray, after quoted.

[7] Acts, f. 126. James was born on the 10th of April, as above evinced, and ſome contraction has occaſioned the change of date from the 13th or 23d, to the 3d. Yet as his birth happened on eaſter eve, it is likely that it was computed from Eaſter to Eaſter, as the letter of Magnus quoted in the commencement of this reign ſeems to prove. In 1537 eaſter fell on the 1ſt of April. [8] Herbert's Henry VIII, 476, &c.

paſſing,

paſſing, to obſerve the ſtate of the commotion, and of the popular diſpoſition, in the north of England; then to repair to Scotland, with credences to the queen-mother, and to the council of regency; and to examine the general inclinations towards peace, or war, and the ſentiments entertained of Henry's decided ſeceſſion from the Roman ſee[9]. He found Margaret at variance with Methven, her third huſband, whom ſhe accuſed of waſting her revenues and loading them with profuſe debts; ſhe had even proceeded ſo far as to inſtitute a proceſs of divorce[1]: and a report was ſpread that ſhe was about to enter into a nunnery, but Sadler's ſagacity rightly judged this rumour "not to be goſpel[2]:" her influence however was a nullity. The council, warmly devoted to the papal influence, rather excited the people to war: and the danger was not ſmall, as he found the north of England fermenting with ſedition, in ſo much that the inhabitants of Newcaſtle would have joined the rebels, had not the loyal exertions of the mayor interpoſed[3]. 1537

Sadler left Scotland in the beginning of February; and was followed, in April, by an envoy more obſcure, and better enabled to perform the office of a ſpy. This was Henry Ray purſuivant of Berwick, whoſe inſtructions were, to ſound the diſpoſitions of the Scots to the reported war, and to perceive if diſcontents prevailed among them on account of a tax impoſed by James, to defray the expence of his voyage to France, it being reported that a commotion had appeared in the north.

[9] O. Sadler to Cromwell, 28 Jan. B. II, 283.

[1] O. Margaret to Henry, 10 Feb. B. I, 160. O. Margaret to Norfolk, B. I, 191. [2] Sadler's letter 28 Jan.

[3] Ibid. Margaret, in her letter to Henry, thanks him for the meſſage ſent by Sadler, in her ſon's abſence, and ſays if James were a kind ſon, and would enforce obedience to her *in all parts* (points,) ſhe could ſerve Henry. A modeſt expectation!

of

1537 of Scotland, whither ſome peers had proceeded with a military force: Ray was, above all, to paint the ſtate of England as flouriſhing in unanimity, and to exaggerate the power of Henry [4]. The purſuivant, having arrayed himſelf in a cloke and hat, "after the Scotiſh faſhion," proceeded on his miſſion; and his report was that the Scotiſh peers were univerſally inclined to France; and that the biſhop of Aberdeen was particularly inimical to the Engliſh reformation, and to the government of Henry, which he conſidered as oppreſſive to the poor, probably alluding to the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, where their neceſſity was relieved with food: that the king was daily expected; but that Margaret had engaged to inform Henry of the Scotiſh affairs, after ſignifying her ludicrous deſire that Norfolk ſhould not commence hoſtilities, till ſhe were divorced from her huſband, which event would take place in a month, for if war ſhould intervene the peers would aſſign her revenues to him [5]. It appears from other letters that the council of regency, guided by the clerical members, had artfully diſpoſed the minds of the commons to war, as a mean of preventing the Engliſh reformation from paſſing into a country engaged in hoſtility; and that an order had been iſſued for ſupplying the people with offenſive and defenſive armour; and the quantity of French gold imported by James yet further increaſed the apprehenſions of England [6].

June The mind of the Scotiſh king was certainly now immerſed in ſome great deſign; and he ſeemed to have exchanged all his former pleaſures for the ſole purſuit of ambition. His reſidence in France, where an abſolute and vigorous government

[4] C. Inſtructions to Ray, B. I, 130. C. Other inſtructions to the ſame, B. III, 248. [5] O. Ray's report, 23 April, B. I, 320.

[6] O. Sir J. Lowther to ..... (Cumberland?) 24 April, B. III, 215. Another St. Mark's day, 25 April, ib. 214.

prevailed,

prevailed, his high marriage, his alliance with Francis, the wealth with which his queen had filled his coffers, conſpired to open his mind to new views, and to impart pride and ambition to his counſels. He ſupported the Engliſh marauders on the frontiers; and even flattered the hopes of the rebels againſt Henry [7]. His revenue was allotted to warlike preparations; and only ſix diſhes of meat were allowed to be preſented on the royal table [8]. But the death of Magdalen, which was daily expected as ſhe was conſumed by a hectic fever, ſpeedily happened, and for a ſeaſon converted ambition and military preparations into the deepeſt ſorrow of her huſband, and of the nation [9]. 1537 7 July

In narrating ſome events of this year, which have been thought to throw an indelible ſtain on the memory of James, the teſtimony of Buchanan, an ear if not an eye witneſs, ſhall be often followed; and he has the credit, notwithſtanding his enmity to kings, and to this monarch in particular, of having given the moſt favourable account of thoſe tranſactions, evidently ſhewing that the country and times looked with the eye of candour, if not approbation, upon incidents which religious or party zeal was afterwards to magnify into acts of the moſt ſanguinary deſpotiſm.

It has already been narrated, amid the events of the preceding year, that John Forbes, the eldeſt ſon of lord Forbes, had been accuſed of treaſon by Huntley. Buchanan ſays that one Strahan was the chief witneſs, a perſon of dubious reputation,

[7] O. Norfolk to Cromwell, 3 July 1537, B. VII, 224.

[8] Ibid. "He doth kepe ſo ſmall an houſe, that there is but only VI meſſys of mete alowed in his houſe: and the quene his wife not like to ſcape withoute deathe, and that not long unto, as I am infourmed by diverſe waies."

[9] Leſl. 446. Buch. XIV, 53. Lindſay, 248. The dates differ as uſual, Lindſay has the 5th, Leſley the 10th. Buchanan ſeems the moſt exact.

1537 who conſpired with Huntley againſt the life of Forbes [1]. However this be, the latter was tried by Argyle, the chief juſtice, with the uſual Scotiſh jury of fifteen; and in addition to the former charge of a deſign to aſſaſſinate the king, it was alledged that he was attached to England, and had engaged in a mutiny excited at Jedburgh, while the Scotiſh army was on its march to defend the borders againſt the Engliſh arms. Forbes aſſerted his innocence to the laſt hour, but was found guilty and ſuffered at Edinburgh the death of a traitor [2]. Buchanan, who betrays ignorance of the delay of a year between the accuſation and the puniſhment, aſſerts that James was miſled by the enemies of Forbes; but the trial remains [3], and there is every reaſon to believe from the delay, from the names of the jury, from the complete formality, that the guilt was ſubſtantiated without any ſiniſter influence. That James had no enmity to Forbes is granted by all writers; and he was at the ſame time ſo conſcious of his own integrity, that he admitted the brothers of the traitor to his favour, and one of them even into an office in his family [4] a confidence perhaps unknown in that age of deep revenge, after any intentional injury, or diſhonour, had been offered. Lord Forbes was ſoon releaſed,

Saturday 14 July

[1] Buch. XIV, 53. Arnot, in his Criminal Trials, ſuppoſes that Forbes incurred enmity by being a proteſtant, becauſe Buchanan ſays he was "et magnæ familiæ, *et factionis*, princeps;" but *factio* alſo implies a clan, or any band of followers; and is by the claſſical writers always uſed in a bad ſenſe, ſo that Buchanan, a proteſtant, ſhould uſe it to point out his own ſect is not credible. On the contrary he would have dwelled on Forbes's principles, and extolled him as a martyr. It is rather to be believed that Forbes was, like the other northern peers, warmly devoted to the Roman faith: and his repeated crimes, mentioned under the preceding year, evince that his *religion* was not the object.

[2] O. Sir Thomas Clifford to Henry, 26 July, B. III, 187. Leſl. 446. Lindſay, 233. [3] Arnot, p. 1. [4] Buch. XIV, 53.

and

and the eſtate was unforfeited; ſo that no appeal could have 1537
been made to avarice.

The fate of Forbes, long protracted, excited little attention, when compared with a concomitant, but, as far as appears, a totally detached event. Within a week after the death of Magdalen, while James was loſt in the retirement of ſorrow, the nation was amazed with the diſcovery and puniſhment of another conſpiracy againſt the life of their ſovereign. The accuſer was one Lyon, whoſe character even Buchanan does not pretend to impeach [5].

The perſon accuſed by Lyon attracted more commiſeration, from the ſex, from the rank, and even from the puniſhment. Jane Douglas, ſiſter of Angus, widow of John Lyon lord Glamis, and wife of Archibald Campbell of Kepneith, was the unhappy victim. This lady, her huſband, her ſon the young lord Glamis, John Lyon his relation, and an old prieſt, were indicted for deſigns againſt the life of James, by poiſon, or witchcraft, with the intention of reſtoring the houſe of Angus. Lady Glamis was condemned to the flames, the ſavage puniſhment of the imaginary crime of witchcraft; and ſuffered her Tueſday
fate on the caſtlehill of Edinburgh, amidſt a croud of ſpectators, 17 July
who ceaſed not to admire her mature, yet youthful, elegance of form, and the maſculine firmneſs of her mind [6]. Her huſband Campbell, endeavouring to eſcape from the caſtle, was daſhed to pieces on the rocks, which form the baſe of that ſublime edifice. Her ſon, yet in extreme youth, was releaſed but his lands were unjuſtly detained in forfeiture [7]. Lyon, in remorſe, real or pretended, for the ruin of the chief of his family, endeavoured in vain to redeem the eſtate by avowing his accuſation falſe, as Buchanan relates; though it be difficult

[5] Ibid. 54. [6] Buch. XIV, 54. [7] Ibid.

1537 in that caſe to perceive how he could have eſcaped the iron hand of the law.

There were alſo impriſoned, on account of thoſe treaſonable deſigns, lord Forbes, William Forbes his couſin, the *lards* of Wedderburn, Whytingham, and Glaybarve, an eſquire named Hugh Douglas, Robert Douglas, Peter Carmichael, Mr. David Strahan, and ſeveral other perſons [8], who all appear to have been diſmiſſed without puniſhment.

Such were thoſe tranſactions, over which ſome obſcurity yet remains. Leſley briefly paſſes the affair; and our proteſtant hiſtorians in their enmity to James concur in denying the criminality of the ſufferers. They however allow that the king was deceived by accuſers inflamed with perſonal enmity: and that he did not pardon is not ſurprizing, when it is reflected that the chief cauſe of the diſorders in his kingdom aroſe from the lenity ſhewn to crimes by his predeceſſors, and the regents, with whom money was often equal to innocence; a conſideration which appears to have induced a vow, or reſolution, of James, never to pardon thoſe found guilty by the common courſe of law. The king was accuſed of indulging his juſt enmity to the houſe of Douglas in the puniſhment of lady Glamis: but with more juſtice may our hiſtorians be arraigned, for partiality to that family, a moſt potent and popular name in Scotland. Yet a friend of the laws, of the public tranquillity, of the welfare of his country, will prefer the pacific virtues of the royal houſe of Stuart to the turbulent fame of that

[8] O. Sir Thomas Clifford to Henry, 26 July, B. III, 187. The writer ſays that lady Glamis ſuffered, "without any ſubſtanciall ground or proyf of mattir," but his teſtimony is that of an enemy, and the cauſe of the Douglaſes was patroniſed by England. It is worthy of remark that Clifford thus begins, "Pleaſe it your moſt Royal Majeſty," whereas preceding letters bear only "moſt noble grace."

of

of Douglas; in foreign war the object indeed of admiration, 1537
but in domeſtic tranquillity, of the moſt ſevere cenſure. That
the king, after forgetting that lady Glamis was the ſiſter of Angus for no leſs than nine years after that earl's baniſhment, ſhould ſuddenly, and in the very criſis of domeſtic and national affliction, exchange ſentiments of ſorrow for thoſe of vengeance, ſeems neither probable in itſelf, nor agreeable to the laws of human nature. Even his enemies allow him to have been miſled by falſe accuſations: but it appears highly probable that the accuſations were not falſe. The retired life of lady Glamis, alledged as a proof of her innocence, might only afford more room for ſecret guilt; and the ignorance of her friends and ſervants would only argue her prudence. Witchcraft was in that age, and long after, firmly believed, and puniſhed by fire, even in the moſt civilized countries in Europe: nor is it a crime in James that he was not a philoſopher before philoſophy was revived: perhaps the very death of the queen, which again left the king in a ſolitude deprived of poſterity, might have been by ſuperſtition imputed to magic, and regarded as a pledge of her huſband's danger. The conſpirators impriſoned on account of this laſt deſign appear to have been all adherents of the houſe of Douglas; Hume of Wedderburn was, by the mother, the nephew of Angus. That the earl was innocent may be admitted; but he was counſelled by his brother Sir George Douglas, whoſe known violence was certainly capable of ſuch a crime. James repeatedly expreſſes his apprehenſions for his life, when he was kept in conſtraint by the Douglaſes [9]; and in proceeding to the conflict of Linlithgow Sir George openly menaced his perſon. The interceſſion of Francis, during the reſidence of James in his dominions,

[9] Letters to Henry, 1528.

was

1537 was the laſt, and vain, hope of the family. It's failure reduced them to all the violence of deſpair. The letters of Penman to Sir George his employer, above mentioned, betray a malice and deſigns the moſt horrid. "The king is crazed, and ill ſpoken of by his people:" he has "beggared all Scotland:" "all are weary of him:" "James ſhall do the commandment of the Douglaſes, God willing:"—"all hate him, and ſay he muſt *go down*:" "his glaſs will ſoon run out." Theſe diabolical expreſſions againſt a prince in the vigour of early youth, what can they inſinuate, but poiſon, or the dagger? Could they be addreſſed to a perſon who did not ſeal them with approbation? And could a more fit, or ſecret, agent than a ſiſter, be employed to promote the intereſts of her family at any riſk? Nor is even the ſeverity of her puniſhment without excuſe; for the vigorous adminiſtration of James might embrace the opportunity of teaching the turbulent nobles the important leſſon, that the law knows no diſtinctions of rank.

About the ſame time Sir Adam Ottirburn, formerly embaſſador in England, was impriſoned for intercourſe with the Douglaſes, during his reſidence at London: and Cheſolm a merchant of Edinburgh, attached to the Engliſh intereſt, incurred the ſame diſgrace [1].

July James continued his attention to his military preparations. His artillery at Dunbar, Tantallon, and other fortreſſes, oc-
26 July cupied much of his care. Sir Thomas Clifford informs Henry [2], that, for a month paſt, James had at leaſt twice in the week ſecretly repaired to Dunbar, at twelve o'clock in the night, or after that hour, with a train of only ſix perſons; and, after remain-

[1] O. Sir W. Eure to Cromwell, 12 June 1538, B. III, 249. Magnus in 1525, (B. II, 30), had applied for a penſion to both, ſo that their impriſonment was not without grounds. [2] Letter above quoted.

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ing a day or two, returned alſo by night: that the Scotiſh artillery was in excellent condition, James lending it his whole attention, undiverted by any pleaſure: and that Berwick from its ruinous ſtate was expoſed to imminent danger. It is impoſſible to divine the intentions of the Scotiſh monarch, who might perhaps wiſh to avail himſelf of the diſcontents in the north of England to recover Berwick: that he aſpired to the Engliſh throne, by the aid of the catholics, ſeems dubious; and the birth of a ſon to Henry, in the enſuing October, muſt have extinguiſhed the idle hope, if ever entertained [3]. 1537

Margaret, the queen-mother, now in her forty eighth year, had proceeded ſo far in a divorce againſt Methven her huſband, that the ſentence was written, and ready for public pronunciation; when the king, ſenſible of the ridicule, commanded it to be ſtopped [4].

As ſoon as decency would permit, an embaſſy was ſent to France, to conclude another marriage for James. Mary of Guiſe, daughter of the duke of Guiſe, and widow of the duke of Longueville, was the object of the royal choice; and the chief embaſſador was David Beton abbot of Arbroth, for his former ſervices rewarded by Francis with the biſhopric of Mi-

[3] Robert Holywell, an Engliſh fanatic, viſited Scotland this ſummer, to exerciſe his trade as a ſadler. He heard different Scots ſay, as they read books of prophecy, that James would be crowned in London, about midſummer in the third year thereafter, (1540.) He pretended that an angel appeared twice to him, ſaying "Ariſe and ſhow your prince that the Scots wolde never be true to him." He was *put to the rack*, but made no further diſcovery. See his confeſſion, Cal. B. I, 122, dated 12 June, 29 H 8, 1538, and ſigned "Per me Edmundum Walſyngham."

[4] O. Margaret to Norfolk, no date, B. I, 191. She accuſes James of forfeiting his promiſe to conſent, given when ſhe ſold him her "mains of Dunbar:" complains that Henry had not written ſince Sadler's departure; and begs Norfolk to interfere in procuring the divorce, as her huſband gave her lands to James.

repoix

1537 repoix in France, and by the influence of that monarch with
20 Dec. the pope now elevated to the rank of cardinal. He was afterwards joined by lord Maxwell, and the heir of Glencairn [5].

1538 Meanwhile James further enriched his coffers, by aſſigning the opulent abbacies, and priories, of St. Andrews, Holyroodhouſe, Melroſe, Kelſo, and Coldingham, to his natural children, whereby he became intitled to draw the revenues of theſe benefices, till the nominal poſſeſſors ſhould have arrived at the years of maturity [6].

The proſecution of the proteſtants, intermitted for three years by more important objects, again commenced with freſh vigour. The celebrated Buchanan was among the number of thoſe impriſoned; who eſcaping firſt paſſed into England, and thence to France. His ſatire on the Franciſcans, while it pleaſed James (who was inimical to thoſe buſy and jeſuitical friars, being far from bigotted, and only protecting the clergy becauſe their opulence could beſt pay for his favour,) had given the deepeſt offence to the church, and the poet prudently withdrew from her reſentment [7].

The ſecond matrimony of James being concluded, Mary of Guiſe proceeded to Scotland, conducted by an admiral of France,
10 June and lord Maxwell. The queen landing at Balcomie in Fife,

[5] Leſl. 447. Lindſay, 248. Beton was created a cardinal, 13 Kal. Jan. 1538, or the 20th Dec. 1537. Keith Biſhops, 23.

[6] Leſl. 447. Yet James Stuart, the eldeſt ſon by Miſs Shaw, had many benefices before Aug. 1536, when Tantallon was taken from him, and given to James Stuart the progeny of Miſs Erſkine. Scotſt. Cal.

[7] Buch. vita propria. The date 1539 on the margin is erroneous; and, not to mention that it occurs again afterwards, it diſagrees with the "brevi poſt" in the text, after tranſactions of 1537: nor does Buchanan mention Mary of Guiſe, who arrived in June 1538, after he had left Scotland: nor was cardinal Beton in France in 1539, though Buchanan found him there in 1538 the real year of his eſcape. Yet, in his unchronological hiſtory, he dates the event 1539: if not an error of the preſs in the vitiated firſt edition.

was

was met by James at St. Andrew's, where the marriage was 1538
celebrated [8]. This princeſs, yet young and unexperienced,
appears not to have entered the thorny path of political intrigue
during her huſband's life; but the connexion with the bigotted
houſe of Guiſe was yet further to cement James with the Ro-
man ſee, and to prepare misfortunes for himſelf and his ill-
fated daughter.

The new marriage which afforded a proſpect of progeny
ſtrengthened the government of James, who continued to hold
the rein over his nobles with a more ſevere than politic hand.
He withdrew from the new earl of Bothwell the lordſhip of Sept.
Lidſdale, as a nurſery of free-booters only to be held in order
by the royal power [9]. From his natural brother Murray, and
from Huntley he alſo ſeized ſome lands [1], apparently on the
ſame pretexts, which though juſt were liable to miſrepreſenta-
tion. Ottirburn and Cheſolm were delivered from priſon, on
their payment of large fines [2]: but Sir James Colville, the Nov.
comptroller, was lodged in ward, till his accompts ſhould be
ſettled [3]; and another victim to the church was prepared in
friar Jerom Ruſſel, a man of eminent learning, who was im-
priſoned at Dumfries [4], and was in the following year to ſuffer
the death of a heretic. And the preponderance of the clergy
was yet further increaſed by the return of cardinal Beton from 5 Dec.
France [5].

[8] Buch. XIV, 55, dates her arrival the 14th June; Leſley 447, the 10th, and at Crail. The French admiral was d'Annabault. Drummond, 209.

Francis I aſſigned her an annuity of 20,000 livres, as appears from a commiſſion by James, 7 March 1539, to Oliver de Bourgogne, treaſurer of Bruges, to receive it. Scotſt. Cal.

[9] O. Sir T. Wharton to Cromwell, 5 Sept. B. VII, 232. [1] Ib.

[2] Ib. [3] O. ſame to ſame, 7 Nov. B. VII, 233.

[4] Ibid. Reports of Mary's pregnancy were prevalent, but ſhe had no child till 1540.

[5] The date of his return is evinced, from the chartulary of Arbroath, by Keith, Biſhops, 23.

1539 The diſcontents in the north of England continuing, a council of ſtate, Dr. Magnus being one of the members, had been appointed to ſit at York, to protect the peaceable and
Jan. controul the turbulent. Dr. Hilyard [6], and other Roman catholics fled into Scotland, and in vain invited James to ſupport their cauſe by arms. Ballads and prophecies were now current on the frontiers, in which it was aſſerted that the Scotiſh monarch was doomed ſpeedily to aſcend the throne of England; and numerous "blaſphemies," as Henry ſtyles them, were circulated againſt the libidinous and tyrannical head of the Engliſh church [7]. The council of York remonſtrated with James againſt thoſe libellous rimes and prophecies; and lord Maxwell warden of the weſtern marches was inſtructed to
1 Feb. ſuppreſs them. At the ſame time James diſpatched a letter to the biſhop of Landaff, preſident of the council of the north, manifeſting his pacific intentions, notwithſtanding the ballads, and "fantaſtic prophecies," as he denominates them with
5 Feb. high contempt of diſbelief [8]. He ſoon after iſſued a proclamation, addreſſed to the warden of the weſtern marches, narrating that divers deſpiteful ballads and rimes had been compoſed by his ſubjects to the diſhonour of Henry, which might occaſion ſuſpicions of enmity on the part of James, as he underſtood from the letters of Eure, Wharton, and other Engliſh chiefs on the frontiers; but aſſerting that the ballads were imported from England, and ordaining that all who poſſeſſed copies of ſuch compoſitions ſhould deſtroy them, on the high penalty of

[6] James to the Council at York, MS. Epiſt. Reg. Scot. 7 Feb. regni 27 (1540) Inſtructions to Sadler, prefixed to his Letters, Edin. 1720. O. Sir W. Eure to Cromwell, 6 Jan. 1539, B. VII, 243.

[7] O. Maxwell to Wharton, 30 Jan. B. III, 181.

[8] O. B. I, 295, 1 Feb. regni 26=1539.

death

death and confiſcation [9]. The Scotiſh king at the ſame time ſent a letter to Sir William Eure, the captain of Berwick, containing favourable ſentiments of his endeavours for the preſervation of peace; inſinuating that the ballads were compoſed by the Scotiſh malefactors and rebels, (by theſe harſh denominations perhaps underſtanding the proteſtant refugees,) whom Henry admitted into his realm; but aſſuring Eure that he lent no credit nor attention "to ſuperſtitious rehearſal of prophecy," and declaring that, if any of his ſubjects be found to have been the authors, "they ſhall ſuffer to the death [1];" a puniſhment perhaps warranted by the ſtatute of *leaſing-making*, ordained by the firſt James, and to be renewed in a Scotiſh parliament held the enſuing year. The pacific procedures of James are evinced from his conduct on this occaſion; and his warlike preparations were probably only intended to put the kingdom in a ſtate of defence, or to curb and awe the factious. 1539 6 Feb.

David Beton, not contented with the reverſion of the ſee of St. Andrew's, (to which he was to ſucceed on the death of his uncle James Beton in the autumn of this year,) and with the rank of cardinal, aſpired alſo to that of legate a latere for Scotland [2]. The clergy continued their infatuated conduct againſt heretics, forgetting that perſecution is the ſeminary of doctrine; and delivered to the flames ſeven innocent and pious men. Keller and Beverege, two dominican friars, Sir Duncan Simſon of Stirling a prieſt, Robert Foreſter a gentleman of that town, and Thomas Foreſt canon regular of St. Colms in the Forth, and vicar of Dolur in Perthſhire, ſuffered as he-

[9] Cal. B. VII, 238.

[1] O. ib. 252. The charge againſt the Scotiſh refugees is truly abſurd, and only calculated to excite the enmity of Henry againſt them.

[2] Sadler's Letters, 18.

1539 retics upon the ſame day, on the caſtle-hill of Edinburgh [3]. 28 Feb. And, in the courſe of this year, Jerom Ruſſel the grey friar, and Kennedy a young gentleman, were to encounter the like fate at Glaſgow [4]. Many proteſtants eſcaped to England, claiming the protection of Norfolk the lieutenant of the north.

James indulged the church in her favourite exhibitions, but was diſguſted with her furious zeal; and the flames of inquiſition blazed no more during his reign. The fewneſs of her martyrs is highly honourable to Scotland, a very ſmall number being to be ſacrificed during the reign of Mary; the death of Wiſhart was expiated by that of cardinal Beton; and in 1558 an aged prieſt was given to the fire by the bigotry of John Hamilton, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who long after, by juſt retaliation, was himſelf to ſuffer on the gibbet.

Sept. James Beton, the turbulent archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, having at length cloſed his exiſtence, David his nephew ſucceeded to his ſee, and ambition [5].

1540 The tranſactions of this year commence with a negotiation 21 Jan. on the borders, in which it was mutually agreed that all fugitives, from either realm, ſhould in future be ſurrendered to their reſpective ſovereigns [6]. Sir William Eure appeared for Henry; and Mr. Thomas Ballenden and Mr. Henry Balnavis for the Scotiſh king. This affair of little moment in itſelf, is 26 Jan. connected with an important letter from Eure to the lord Privy Seal of England [7], in which he narrates ſome converſations with Ballenden, a man of aged experience, and eminent abilities, concerning the court and character of James, on which they reflect a new and ſtrong light. In Ballenden's opinion

[3] Spottiſwood, 66. Keith hiſt. 9. Leſl. 450. Buch. XIV, 55.
[4] Spott. 67, Keith hiſt. ib. [5] Keith Biſhops, p. 23.
[6] See the agreement in the middle of the unpaged MS. Bib. Reg. 7, C. XVI.
[7] O. ibid.

James,

James, and the temporal lords of his council, were inclined to a reform. A play[8] had been repreſented at Linlithgow, on the late feaſt of epiphany, before James, his queen, and the ſpiritual and temporal peers, the purport of which tended wholly to the reformation both of church and ſtate. At the end of this theatrical effort, James addreſſed himſelf to the chancellor, and the other biſhops, and deſired them to promote a deſign ſo meritorious, elſe he ſhould ſend ſix of the proudeſt of them to Henry, and as they were ordered ſo ſhould he order the others. The chancellor mildly anſwered that one word from their monarch was ſufficient to induce them to amend: but James replied with ſome warmth that he would not ſpare many words, though he ſuſpected that their effect would be vain. Ballenden deſired a copy of the Engliſh acts of parliament againſt the papiſts, for the private ſtudy of James; inſinuated that he intended to expell the ſpirituality from all civil offices and affairs, and that after the queen's coronation[9], which was fixed for the firſt day of February, a convention of the peers was to be held, in which, as was reported, a reform of the ſpiritual order was to be the grand object of deliberation. 1540

The emperor Charles V, having proceeded to Paris to hold a conference with Francis I[1], the Engliſh monarch became

[8] A ſketch of this play is given, from which it is clear that it was the original draught of Sir David Lindſay's noted drama, called a Satire on the Three Eſtates, printed at Edinburgh 1602, 4to, and reprinted London 1792 in three volumes of old Scotiſh poems. The uncommon perſonages, and plot, compleatly identify the production; but the introductory farce of the old man and his young wife was too indecent for the eye and ear of Mary of Guiſe, and was only added in 1552, as appears from a date in it, which led the editor to infer that all the play was of that epoch.

[9] She was now pregnant; and James was preparing ſhips for his celebrated voyage of this year. Ibid.

[1] Herbert's Henry VIII, 514. Mezeray, Abr. IV, 608.

more

1540 more and more alarmed, leſt the pontiff ſhould perſuade James to join theſe princes in an attempt to deprive him of his dominions. To fruſtrate this intention, if entertained, Henry Feb. diſpatched Sir Ralph Sadler on an embaſſy into Scotland. His inſtructions were [2], to excite ſuſpicion againſt cardinal Beton, now the prime miniſter and chief counſellor of James: to perſuade this monarch to abjure the authority of Rome, and to ſeize the monaſteries: and to ſound his intentions concerning the reported league againſt England. But Henry's avarice only ſent a preſent of a few horſes to conciliate James, though he muſt have known that the gold of France, and of the church, abounded in the Scotiſh court, and that it ought to have been balanced by a profuſion, more laudably ſhewn in ſecuring peace, than in maintaining war; though this was a truth which all his paſt experience was never to teach him. Yet the embaſſador was further inſtructed to allure James by the hopes of the Engliſh ſucceſſion, if prince Edward died; a vain expectation, which prudence could never weigh againſt preſent and ſolid advantages.

A negotiation ſo unſkillful in its foundations terminated as was to have been expected. The letters produced to raiſe jealouſy againſt Beton, and which were ſaid to have been found in a Scotiſh ſhip wrecked at Bamborough [3], were directed to Rome, but James avowed his previous knowledge of the contents. He refuſed to ſeize the poſſeſſions of the church, as he aſſerted that the clergy were always ready to ſupply his wants, and any abuſes were of eaſy reformation: when Sadler ſtated the uſeleſs and wicked lives led by the monks, the king's

[2] Sadler's Letters, Edin. 1720, 8vo. p. 1.

[3] This, though denied by the Scots, appears to have been the truth, for it is mentioned in a letter from the council at York to Cromwell, 5 Jan. 1539. Cal. B. VII, 245.

impatience

impatience anſwered, "By God they that be naught you ſhall hear that I ſhall redreſs, and make them religious men according to their profeſſions." To the article concerning a league againſt England, James firmly, and it is believed moſt juſtly, denied any ſuch intention, with ſolemn aſſeverations, and even with oaths. And Sadler having propoſed a conference with Henry, the Scotiſh king objected, except that Francis were alſo to be preſent, as was indeed the original propoſition ſix years before. He however added that he was always inclined to the conference, but the lords oppoſed the deſign [4]. 1540

Some other points of this memorable embaſſy deſerve attention. Sadler avers that the clergy had preſented to the king a liſt of not leſs than three hundred and ſixty of the chief nobles and barons, whoſe eſtates might be confiſcated on a charge of hereſy, and that Arran ſtood at the head of the roll [5]: that James ſaid the clergy dreaded him, but praiſed the cardinal as devoted to his intereſt [6]. The embaſſador found that the king was well inclined, but was forced to uſe the council of the clergy, as the nobles wanted capacity [7]. Yet the churchmen were unpopular, eſpecially Beton who had recently iſſued a proclamation ordaining the death of a heretic to any perſon who ſhould eat an egg on forbidden days [8]; as it is indeed the infatuation of a falling ſyſtem to conſider trifles as barriers, and defend them with inſane obſtinacy: and it is thus that the vehemence of party drives the many to oppoſite extremities of the field, while the wiſe and moderate few are left in the middle expoſed to the weapons of either ſide. The nobles and

[4] Sadler's Letters, 15, 55, &c.

[5] Ibid. 101. James rejected this roll of proſcription with high indignation. Knox 30, ed. 1644. Keith, 12. [6] Sadler, 56, 57.

[7] Ib. 61. Yet the clergy were ſo groſsly ignorant as to miſtake a Greek device for Latin, and ludicrouſly miſinterpret it, p. 63, 64. [8] Ib. 62.

gentlemen

1540 gentlemen diſpoſed to the reformation Sadler found numerous, but chiefly in the younger claſs of men [9]; for the aged ſeldom adopt new opinions, however incontrovertible, being unwilling to confeſs their acquired knowledge to be vain, and to yield to youth the palm of experience. Twenty years were accordingly to elapſe, before the benefits of the reformation were to extend to Scotland.

The ſituation of James had become extremely difficult; and it is no wonder that he was ſoon to fall a victim to the embarraſſment, as it might have confounded the moſt aged and ſkillful politician. The majority of his nobility and people were now decidedly inclined to the reformation; which was regarded as an object even of neceſſity in Scotland, as the clergy engroſſed almoſt the whole wealth of the country. No ſovereign was ever more zealous for the benefit of his realm than James V, and his conſent to the deſired change would have proved, in the iſſue, highly fortunate to himſelf and his people. If he deſpiſed the ſelfiſh aims of Henry, there were before his eyes the glorious examples of his ally Frederic I of Denmark, who eſtabliſhed the proteſtant ſyſtem in his dominions in 1526; and of the heroic Guſtaf Waſe of Sweden,

[9] Ib. p. 61. More minute objects of this embaſſy are, that Sadler was inſtructed to remonſtrate to James againſt his keeping ſtores of ſheep, and other mean modes of increaſing his revenue, p. 6. A ridiculous and affronting propoſition, but ſuch were Henry's methods of conciliation! James, p. 38, denied the charge, and ſaid the ſheep were kept by his tenants on his lands. But the monarch muſt, to his high praiſe, be confuted, "for he had ten thouſand ſheep going in the Etrick foreſt, in keeping by Andrew Bell, who made the king as good count of them, as they had gone in the bounds of Fife." Lindſay 237. Nor can any thing be more odious than to hear vice blaming virtue. Sadler had his firſt audiencewhen James was at maſs, p. 24, a common practice with our monarchs ever formal in religion. The king's fondneſs for hawks, herons, and the river, is remarked, p. 59.

who

who three years after followed the ſame maxims. Yet both 1540
theſe events were the conſequences of revolutions; and it re-
quired a mind ſtrong even to violence, like that of Henry VIII, to change an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, ſo deeply interwoven with every branch of government. The groſs imprudence of Henry in the management of the Engliſh influence in Scotland, but particularly in ſupporting the infamous Douglaſes againſt their ſovereign, even till the death of James, muſt have rendered his conduct and counſels ſuſpicious, and deſervedly to be ſhunned. He had in a manner forced James to fix a connexion with France; a political tye which of itſelf forbad him to adopt a ſyſtem reprobated by his moſt powerful ally. The talents of the clergy, particularly of Beton, the incapacity and illiterature of the nobles, the matrimonial alliance with the bigotted houſe of Guiſe, all afford motives operating to excuſe James: and we may lament, but cannot in candour blame, when we perceive that prince perſiſt to the laſt in the religion of his anceſtors.

The Scotiſh monarch had long revolved an important deſign, highly honourable to his abilities and intentions, and to his deſire of promoting the union, tranquillity, and happineſs of the realm. His vigorous and prudent government had reduced the borderers, and other marauders, to ſubordination. The iſles, and northern extremities of his kingdom, alone remained in ignorance of the laws, and of his power to enforce them. He determined to viſit them in perſon, attended by a force ſufficient to chaſtiſe the inſolent chiefs, and to inſpire reſpect to the guardian of the public order. The voyage was worthy of the intrepidity, and wiſdom, of the monarch, being almoſt as dangerous as one of diſtant diſcovery, the people and the very ſhores being unknown; and the patriotic prince ordered,

1540 for the general benefit, a ſkilful pilot, Alexander Lindſay, to attend him, and report the nautical obſervations [1].

beg. May Arrangements were accordingly made for this intereſting expedition. The ſervices of Maxwell, though admiral of Scotland, were declined on this occaſion [2], by the interference of cardinal Beton, whom he had offended in refuſing to admit him in eſcorting the queen from France [3]. Twelve ſhips, with ample artillery, were ordered to be ready by the fourteenth day of May. Of theſe ſix were allotted to James, and

[1] They were tranſlated into French, and are extant in a beautiful MS. Harl. 3996, "avec augmentation, et illuſtration, de pluſieurs figures, et deſcriptions, tres neceſſaires pour la navigation; par Nicolas de Nicolay de Dauphiné, geographe du roi." The tranſlator's travels in Turkey were printed about 1570. In a dedication to the cardinal of Lorrain, whoſe campaign at Amiens is mentioned, Nicolay ſays he procured the original when he was in England, from Northumberland the admiral of Henry VIII. Theſe nautical remarks are alſo printed at Paris, 1583, 4to: and in the Miſcellanea Scotica, London, 1710, 8vo.

Our hiſtorians have erred in the date of this noted voyage. Leſley puts 1539: Buchanan 1534, and is followed by later writers. But the epoch is aſcertained by a letter of James, (MS. Epiſt. R. S.) to Henry, dated 29 July, of his reign the 27th year—1540, in which he ſays that as there was no complaint on the borders, he had viſited the iſles, north and ſouth, to introduce juſtice and policy; that in his abſence redreſs was denied by the Engliſh wardens, till a hawk and a deer were reſtored; and he ſends Rothſay herald to remonſtrate.

The date is alſo evinced, from the birth of the eldeſt prince, which was on the 22d day of May 1540, as appears from a letter to Henry of that date, the 27th year of his reign, mentioning the birth of a prince "and ſucceſſor." Ib. On the 2d Nov. 1540, the lands of Morton were given by James to Andrew Mitchelſon, for bringing the tidings. Scotſt. Cal. ſub data. Langton's letter, (B. I, 145, after quoted,) concerning the intended navigation, as to take place on the 29th of May, ſtates the birth of a prince; and that the Scots made bonfires on trinity ſunday at night, which day in 1540 was the 23d of May.

[2] O. Sir Edward Aglionby to Sir T. Wharton, 4 May, B. III, 217.

[3] Lindſay, 249.

his

his own immediate dependants, and ſoldiers. Three were 1540
appointed ſolely for victualling the fleet. The remaining three were ſeparately aſſigned to the cardinal, Huntley, and Arran: Beton being to conduct five hundred men of Fife and Angus; Huntley, beſides gentlemen and thirty of the royal houſehold, was to lead five hundred of the north; to Arran was given the ſimilar command of five hundred of the weſt, excluſive of the gentlemen, and twenty-four ſervants, in his train [4].

The queen's pregnancy was ſo far advanced that her delivery was daily expected: as James could not decently be abſent at the time, a delay of more than a fortnight was the conſequence [5]. Meanwhile England became ſuſpicious of the intentions of this armament: ſome aſſerting that James deſigned a voyage to France, or Flanders, to meet Francis, or the emperor: others reported Ireland as the probable deſtination, as in lent eight Iriſh gentlemen had arrived at the Scotiſh court, with letters from moſt of the great chiefs of Ireland, offering homage to James, if he would ſupport their religion againſt Henry's innovations [6]. But as James himſelf was not to lead above two thouſand men, ſuſpicion was embarraſſed; though, to prevent any attack in his abſence, Murray was ordered to command a body of troops on the frontiers [7]. At length Mary of Guiſe preſented a prince and apparent ſucceſſor 22 May
to the exulting monarch, and nation [8]; and her health permitted James to proceed a few days after that fortunate event [9].

When

[4] Aglionby's letter, B. III, 217.

[5] O. John Thomſon to Sir T. Wharton, 4 May, B. III, 219, which adds that her delivery was expected about trinity ſunday.

[6] O. Sir Brian Langton to Cromwell, no date, B. I, 145. [7] Ibid.

[8] C. James to Henry 22 May, r. 27, in MS. Epiſt. R. S. in bibl. Reg.

[9] Not till after the 28th of May, on which day cardinal Beton, in a ſolemn court of ſpiritual and temporal peers held at St. Andrew's, condemned Sir John

1540 When the cauſe of delay was thus removed, the royal ſtandard ſtreamed from the admiral ſhip; the ſails were hoiſted, and the ſquadron advanced down the majeſtic courſe of the Forth, amid the acclamations of numerous ſpectators on the adjacent hills and ſhores. They knew not their king's deſign; but a patriot and a philoſopher would have joined their general voice, had he beheld this youthful monarch, after having with the wiſdom of years, amid innumerable difficulties, with repeated imminent hazard to his perſon, eſtabliſhed the internal tranquillity of his realm, now proceeding on a voyage, not of war and deſtruction, but of public benefit; and committing his ſafety to the tempeſts, rocks, and ſhoals, of unknown and perilous ſeas, in order to ſpread law and civilization through his dominions.

June Circumnavigating the variegated coaſts of Fife, the bold æſtuary of the Tay, the populous ſhores of Angus, Mearns, and Buchan, ſtudded with commercial towns and romantic villages, the royal fleet doubled the promontory of Kinnaird, paſſed the rocky heights of Ord, the heathy wilds of Caithneſs, and diſplayed the royal banner to the intrepid and induſtrious natives of the Orkneys, who had now begun to exchange their ancient Gothic ferocity for the mild arts of peace. Little or no exertion of authority was here required: and after charts and nautical remarks, concerning the Orcadian ſeas and inlets, had been arranged by Alexander Lindſay, the pilot, the ſquadron paſſing the marſhy waſtes of Strathnavern, doubled the deſert and perilous cape of Hvarf or Wrath, which expoſes its ſtern front to the hurricanes from Greenland, and to the mountainous waves of the Atlantic ocean. The diſtant and

Borthwick to be burnt in effigy for hereſy. Keith App. p. 4. Langton, in his letter above quoted, mentions the 29th May as the day finally fixed for the expedition.

lawleſs

lawleſs inhabitants of Leuis, Harris, the Viſts, ruſhed from 1540
their muddy hovels to gaze on the lion of Scotland, and trembled when they beheld the artillery of the public guardian levelled againſt their crimes. The power of the Macdonalds the allies of England, the foes of their country, had been long extinguiſhed; but the Macleods obeyed the royal mandate with conſcious fear, and were detained in captivity. Nor did the chieftains of Skey, and the barbarous weſtern ſhores, eſcape a ſimilar fate. Again bending his courſe to the ocean, James viſited the iſles of Col, Tirey, and Mull; and perhaps ſighed over the tombs of his anceſtors at Hyona. The indented ſhores of Argyle, the iſlands of Jura, Ilay, and Colonſay, the rugged promontory of Cantire, the verdant hills of Arran, Bute the reſidence of his fathers, did not elude the monarch's preſence, or attention, his applauſe of peaceful induſtry, his chaſtiſement of depredatory inſolence. Many of the chieftains were led away in bonds; and James ordering ſome ſhips to return with them by their former courſe to Leith, landed at Dunbarton, after one of the moſt laudable expeditions ever undertaken by any ſovereign [r].

The chieftains ſeized were detained in ſeveral priſons, as hoſtages for the obedience and tranquillity of their people, and continued in bonds during the life of the king. The principal names were Macleod, Macdonald, Maclain, Macconnel, Macneil, Mackay, Macintoſh, Mackenzie, with many others [s]. So effectual was this policy, that peace, induſtry, and a comparative degree of wealth, began now reluctantly to viſit the weſtern ſhores, and iſles, of Scotland; and hardly is there a

[r] Leſl. 448, 449. Buch. XIV, 48. Lindſay, 236.
[s] Leſl. 448, Lindſay, 236.

conflict

1540 conflict of the clans known till the reign of James VI [3]. The people, devoted with blind ſervility to their chiefs, and more anxious for their lives than for their own, began to obey the laws and royal mandates, with as much readineſs as the more civilized provinces of the kingdom.

29 July On his return, James negotiated with England concerning an infraction of the border laws [4]. But another event of more ſingularity attracted the attention of his ſubjects. Sir James Hamilton, commonly called the baſtard of Arran, who has been repeatedly mentioned as a man only diſtinguiſhed by perſonal valour, and by cruel murders, as a favourite of James in his early youth, and afterwards deteſted by him, was accuſed of high treaſon, in favouring the Douglaſes in a plot againſt 16 Aug. the king's life: and a criminal court aſſembling at Edinburgh, he was found guilty, and ſuffered the juſt reward of his cruelties in the death of a traitor. His accuſer was of the ſame name; being a brother of Patrick Hamilton the martyr [5].

During

[3] See the little work called Conflicts of the Clans, Glaſgow, 1764, 12mo. Drummond, who wrote about 1640, ſays, p. 204, "this voyage bred great fear in thoſe iſlanders and *ſavages*." This common French deſignation of the highlanders prevails even now, in the term wild highlanders.

[4] C. James to Henry 29 July. MS. Epiſt. R. S. The ſecond volume of the printed Epiſtles begins at Aug. 1539, but offers nothing worthy of hiſtorical remark till June 1540, when a letter to O Neil an Iriſh prince appears, aſſuring him of protection, p. 73. Though a council of regency had been appointed, during the abſence of James, the letters proceed in the royal name. This volume might have been greatly augmented by the inſertion of many curious letters from the MS. Reg. 18 B. VI, which ſeems to have been quite unknown to Ruddiman the learned editor.

On the 31ſt July 1540 James ſent George Hay to the pope, to remonſtrate againſt ſome infringements of his prerogative. Inſtructions, 18 B. VI, ſub die.

[5] Leſl. 450, 451. Buch. XIV, 57. Lindſay, 257—260. Keith hiſt. 11. Lindſay, 257, ſtyles Sir James Hamilton lord Evandale; and of Draphan, p. 258. He was actually in poſſeſſion of theſe baronies, as appears from charters

During his patriotic voyage James had heard, or obſerved, 1540
that great intruſions were made by the fiſhing veſſels of Holland, Flanders, and Bremen, on the privileges of his ſubjects in the ſeas of Orkney and Shetland, by advancing too near the ſhores, and not only interrupting the Scotiſh fiſhers, but ſometimes even forcibly compelling them to withdraw; a boat with twenty native ſailors having, on one of theſe occaſions, been ſunk with all its people by the guns of the ſtrangers[6]. The monarch, ever awake to the intereſts of his realm, ordered Maxwell, the admiral of Scotland, to ſail to the iſlands, and notify his reſolution to puniſh ſuch attempts: but Maxwell finding them refractory, he ordered one or two ſailors from each foreign veſſel on board, then ſeizing one of their ſhips, in order afterwards to convey them to the continent, he in the mean time brought them to Leith. Being produced before the privy council, they were charged, on the penalty of juſt retaliation, to abſtain from ſuch inimical practices, and letters

ters recorded by Scotſtarvet. Evandale was gradually won from the Stuarts, the lords, Cal. June 1533, Sept. 1534. The tower of Nauthan (or Draphan) on "the water of Nauthan," lands of Croſsford, &c. were acquired from the abbot of Kelſo in 1532, as appears from a confirmation of the charter, 4 Jan. 1539. The tower of Nathane, and the lands of Draphan, are alſo confirmed 14 Aug. 1539. On the 22d Sept. 1539 many lands were granted to Sir James, for building the palaces of Linlithgow and Stirling. Ib. In Oct. that year Sir James granted Glengavel in Evandale, Lanarkſhire, to Margaret and her huſband Methven. Ib.

The ſtories concerning Sir James, detailed by our proteſtant writers, ſeem invented to ſhew the judgments of God upon perſecutors. It appears not that he was ever reſtored to the favour of James, and how could he be a judge of a ſpiritual court? Was Beton's ambition inclined to give up his favourite prerogative to him? The circumſtances ſeem to equal in veracity the apparition mentioned by Lindſay and Buchanan. Had Sir James been juſt appointed to a high office, he would hardly have conſpired againſt his ſovereign, whoſe continued neglect alone ſeems to have induced him to deſigns of deſperation.

[6] Epiſt. Reg. Sc. II, 81—84.

were

1540 were ſent to the ſeveral ſtates certifying the king's firm reſolutions on this ſubject[7]. They were then diſmiſſed in their own veſſel, and probably attended to the prohibition for a few years: but the complaint exiſts in full force even in our time.

3 Dec. A parliament aſſembled at Edinburgh, wherein James not only confirmed the revocation of all lands, offices, and poſſeſſions, alienated from the crown during his minority, formerly iſſued by him at Rouen, but publiſhed a new act of annexation of lands to the royal domains. It comprizes all the iſles, "north and ſouth of the two Cantires," that is the Hebudes; the annexation of which to the crown was a ſtretch of power, but not unjuſt, when the conſtant diſaffection and depredations of the chiefs are conſidered, and highly ſalutary for the promotion of tranquillity and civilization. The Orkney and Shetland iſlands follow: and are ſucceeded by the lordſhips of Douglas, Crawford-Lindſay, Crawford-John, Bonkill, Preſton, Tantallon, Bothwell, Jedburgh foreſt, and the ſuperiority of the county or earldom of Angus. Other forfeitures annexed are Glamis, and its dependencies; Lidſdale, ſeized three years before, the earl of Bothwell its poſſeſſor being attached to the Douglaſes: and Evandale the property of Sir James Hamilton[8].

[7] Epiſt. Reg. Sc. II, 81—84.

[8] Acts, f. 127—f. v. 133. Lidſdale had been aſſumed in 1537, as appears from Cal. B. VII, 232, quoted under that year. Buchanan, XIV, 53, ſays Bothwell was baniſhed in 1537; erroneouſly, for, in the end of 1539, he dates ſome charters at Aberdeen, perhaps juſt before he went to Italy. Our hiſtorians are always ſtrangers to chronology. It is even doubtful if he were baniſhed at any time, as he repeated his treaſons in Dec. 1542, and was abſolved in 1544. Epiſt. R. S. II, 321, 326.

The barony of Bothwell belonged to Angus; and in Nov. 1528 was given to Arran upon the forfeiture of the Douglaſes. Scotſt. Cal. Lindſay, 262, ſpecially mentions Bothwell as belonging to Angus. It had been forfeited by Douglas 1455, was given to Ramſay by James III; and then paſſed to lord Hales afterwards earl of Bothwell. Dougl. Peer. 85. Angus had apparently ſeized, or bought it, in the minority of James V.

The

The ſtatute of *leaſing-making*, inſtituted by James I againſt any attempts to ſow diſſenſion between the king and the people, was alſo reinforced: and grand diſplays of arms were ordered twice in the year, in the months of June and October, the kinds of weapons and armour being minutely recorded [9]. And the parliament was diſmiſſed, or adjourned, with a general act of amneſty, excepting only the adherents or correſpondents of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and their late uncle Archibald; the king warmly beſpeaking the affections of his people, as he ſhall prove to them a grateful and beneficent ſovereign [1]. 1540

In the enſuing March the national council again aſſembled: and ſeveral ſtatutes were paſſed to enforce the wavering obedience of the nation to the Roman ſee. To argue againſt the pope's authority imported death: private conventicles, or conferences on religion, were forbidden: heretics who abjure are not nevertheleſs to converſe with catholics; nor, (with ſingular and truly eccleſiaſtic ſeverity,) can a perſon even ſuſpected of hereſy be admitted to any office, or privilege, either in the boroughs or elſewhere: fugitives for hereſy are held condemned, and any correſpondence with them ſtrictly prohibited: and rewards are offered for the diſcovery of any proteſtants. Yet, by an ordinance of vague interpretation, the clergy are enjoined to reform their manners, and ſhew more attention to their duty [2]. When the extreme ſeverity of theſe decrees, dictated by the blind zeal of Beton, is conſidered, little wonder can be excited by the tragical fate of that tyrannical churchman. 1541 14 Mar.

[9] Acts, f. v. 129, f. 131, and c. 55, 58, 61. [1] Ib. c. 62, f. v. 133.

[2] Keith, hiſt. 14, 15. In the copies of the ancient edition of our ſtatutes, 1566, theſe acts againſt the reformation are torn out.

1541 The other ſtatutes, though numerous, are of too minute a nature to deſerve the attention of hiſtory; ſome which relate to the proviſion of arms ſeem to indicate an intention, or apprehenſion, of war [3]. Nor is it unworthy of remark that the acts of parliament are now ordered to be printed; that invaluable art being revived, and at length, after an interval of thirty years, reeſtabliſhed in Scotland [4].

29 Mar. In a curious letter to the lord privy ſeal of England [5], Norfolk relates that the Lancaſter herald was then at Edinburgh, and received with favour by James, who aſſured him of his pacific intentions, though a proclamation had been iſſued, ordering all men between ſixteen and ſixty to be ready on a warning of twenty hours, and ſixteen great cannons and ſixty leſs were prepared in the caſtle of the capital: that, at a ſermon preached at Linlithgow before the young queen, by a friar who extolled the papal authority, only three biſhops and no temporal peers had attended: that the Scotiſh clergy were afraid, and wiſhed for war to prevent James from following Henry's example: that the Scotiſh king was a decided enemy to the power of England, the young queen a devotee of Rome, while the queen mother, who had reſumed Methven her huſband, inclined to the ſame ſentiments: and that many Scotiſh gentlemen fled to Norfolk, that they might have the privilege of reading the ſcriptures in Engliſh, without expoſure to the flames. Norfolk adds that if the wicked prieſts induce not their ſovereign to war this ſummer, he will take their poſſeſſions before chriſtmas, an intention which that peer promiſes

[3] Acts, f. 134, &c.
[4] Ib. f. v. 142, the final ſtatute of this reign.
[5] O. Berwick 29th March, B. VII, 228.

to

to enforce with all his ſkill[6]. So dubious was ſtill the devo- 1541
tion of James to the church[7].

After a tumultuous life of fifty-two years, Margaret of England, the queen mother, died at Methven. Her funeral June?
was ſolemnized by James, and the peers, with ſingular magnificence, the body being buried in the church of the Carthuſians at Perth, and in the ſame tomb with James I the founder, an honour due to her regal ſpirit and eminent abilities[8].

The further tranſactions of this and the laſt year of James V, are not a little obſcure; and the invaluable evidence of private original letters unhappily fails.

Mary of Guiſe increaſed her huſband's felicity by the birth of another prince. But, by a ſingular reverſe of fortune, both the royal infants died within a few days[9]; and the ſenſibility of James was deeply affected by the diſaſter. It is no wonder

[6] He alſo mentions that there had, for ſome time, reſided at Berwick a proteſtant lady, who had been wife to the late captain of Dunbar. "She was in England, and ſaw quene Jane. She was Sir Patrick Hamilton's doughter: and her brother was brent in Scotland iii or iiii yeres paſt." Hamilton was burnt in 1528: we ſhould read xiii or xiiii.

[7] The Scotiſh clergy granted James a further annual ſubſidy; and he applies to the pope for its confirmation in a letter dated 12th April 1541. Epiſt. R. S. II, 109.

[8] Leſl. 449; but he dates her death in 1539, whereas ſhe was alive in 1540, as we know from Sadler's letters, p. 14, 28, 50. In July 1541 a charter to lord Methven appears, without the uſual mention of the queen-dowager. Scotſt. Cal.

In July 1541 James ſent Bellenden to England, to manifeſt his pacific intentions. MS. Reg. 18 B. VI.

[9] See a letter of condolence from the cardinal of Lorraine, 4 Aug. 1541, Epiſt. R. S. II, 133. Leſley erroneouſly dates this event 1540, the year of the birth of the firſt child. Buchanan has the ſame date: Lindſay is for once right.

1541 that its ſingularity ſhould have occaſioned ſuperſtitious tales: but that our hiſtorians ſhould continue to repeat the viſions, or apparitions, of ſir James Hamilton, and Scot the juſtice clerk, is ſtrange, and diſhonourable to their ſagacity. In the infant fanaticiſm of the reformation, ſuch fables might command faith, and evince the dreadful judgments of God upon perſecutors; but they would have been better invented if applied to the ſanguinary Henry, or Mary, of England, than to the magnanimous mind of James V.

Cares the moſt regal and patriotic, mollified the ſorrows of the Scotiſh monarch. From Denmark and Sweden he imported ſuperior breeds of horſes, to meliorate the ſmall native race, and his parks were repleniſhed with generous courſers [1]. France and Flanders ſupplied a profuſion of artillery, and other military ſtores; while, with yet more laudable views, artiſans of all deſcriptions were ſedulouſly invited from the ſame countries, and from Holland, Spain, and England: and the royal munificence ſecured their abode in Scotland, by the moſt liberal wages, and even by annual penſions [2]. Theſe godlike exertions to diffuſe the bleſſings of induſtry, art, and civilization, through his realm, proclaim the praiſe of James in a ſtyle far ſuperior to ſtudied panegyric. Invited by his fame, as the patron of every uſeful labour, ſome Germans had viſited Scotland, and endeavoured to diſcover gold in the mines of

[1] See the letters to Chriſtiern of Denmark, Guſtaf Waſe of Sweden, and the magiſtrates of Hamburgh, Epiſt. R. S. II, 36—38, and Lindſay, 238. The lands of Kingſmuir in Fife were, 2 May 1542, given to Charles Murray, for his ſervices in purchaſing large war-horſes abroad for the king. Scotſt. Cal.

[2] Lindſay, 238. He enumerates gunners, carpenters, carvers, painters, maſons, ſmiths, harneſs-makers, weavers of tapeſtry, embroiderers, taylors, ſurgeons, apothecaries; "with all other kind of craftſmen that might bring his realm in policy."

Crawford

Crawford muir; but with dubious ſucceſs, though it be certain 1541
that this precious metal is found in the Scotiſh ſoil [3].

To divert their grief for the loſs of their children, and to encourage the progreſs of learning in their dominions, James and Mary of Guiſe honoured the univerſity of Aberdeen with a ſolemn viſit. The ſcholars vied in their attempts to entertain the royal gueſts: comedies, probably of Terence or Plautus, diſputations on all branches of literature, orations in the Greek and Latin languages, ſufficiently intereſted James and his conſort to prolong their ſtay for fifteen days, when they left the univerſity, after beſtowing warm applauſe on the proficience of the ſtudents, and the liberal attention of William Stuart the biſhop to the proſperity of the inſtitution [4].

Sir John Campbell of Lundy again proceeded on an embaſſy to the Netherlands: his buſineſs being to procure a proper regulation for the fiſhing veſſels, employed on the Scotiſh coaſts, which had given umbrage to James in his voyage of the preceding year. Redreſs was accordingly promiſed [5].

Cardinal Beton, accompanied by David Panter the ſecretary, July
now proceeded on a journey through France to Rome, which he had projected a year or two before [6]. For himſelf he aſpired to the legateſhip of Scotland, as Wolſey had held that of England. But there were apparently other, and more important, ſchemes in agitation, between the pope, the emperor, Francis, and James, againſt Henry, whoſe knowledge of them probably produced the war of the enſuing year. But while

[3] Leſl. 452. The gold found in the time of Charles I is known by the medals.

[4] Ibid. 451. [5] MS. Harl. 4637, Vol. III, f. 18 ſeq.

[6] O. Council of York to Cromwell, 5 Jan. 1539, B. VII, 245. Epiſt. R. S. II, 121, 122, 136: the two former references are letters of James, dated July 1541, and ſent with the cardinal to the pope, and duke of Guiſe; the laſt a letter from David Panter, Paris, Jan. 1542.

this

1541 this important embaſſy itſelf is unknown in the careleſs pages of our hiſtory, it is no wonder that the motives ſhould remain in darkneſs. In this much the character of Beton, now the Wolſey of Scotland in power and pride, may inſtruct us, that the intereſts of the Roman ſee, and the deſtruction of hereſy, were grand objects of his miſſion.

Availing himſelf of the abſence of Beton, Henry appears to have again ſent Sadler into Scotland [7]. He was inſtructed to expoſe the art of the pontiff, and to warn James againſt any belief to be lent to the ſcandals propagated againſt Henry by the papal clergy: he was politely to deſire the Scotiſh king not to transform himſelf into a brute, or a ſtock, as the clergy would perſuade him to be. "The practiſes of prelates and clerks," ſay the inſtructions, "are wondrous; and their juggling ſo crafty, that, unleſs a man beware thereof, and have as many eyes as Argus, he may be lightly led by the noſe, and bear the yoke, yea and yet, for blindneſs, not know what he doth [8]." The embaſſador is therefore to deſire James well to weigh and conſider their practiſes: and, if he be inclined, Henry ſhall ſend a wiſe man to inſtruct him or meet him himſelf, as he was that ſummer to perform a progreſs to the north of England. Sadler is alſo to inſinuate that the ſuppoſed intention of the pontiff is to arm the emperor, France, and Scotland, againſt

[7] See his long and curious inſtructions, quite different from thoſe of 1540, Cal. B. I, 52—70. The mention of Henry's intended progreſs to the north ſeems, with other circumſtances, to evince the date to be 1541. The Lancaſter herald had lately returned from Scotland. Lindſay, 253, ſpecially dates, and avouches, this embaſſy of 1541, after which Henry, as he ſays, proceeded to York; but he errs in repeating the names of the embaſſadors of 1535.

[8] "The practiſes of prelats and clerks be wondrous, and thair juglyng ſo craftie, as oneles a man beware thereof, and as oculate as Argus, he maye be lyghtly ledd by the noſe, and beare the yoke, yea and yett for blyndnes not to knowe what he doith." F. v. 62.

Henry;

Henry; and with no great art, or hiſtorical knowledge, the example of James I is to be repeated to the Scotiſh monarch, as if his anceſtor had voluntarily and freely aſſiſted the fifth Henry in his French war, and upon his death attended his body to London as that of a dear ally. 1541

James appears to have lent a deaf ear to the homilies of Henry; but overcome by perſiſtance, to have given a dubious promiſe that, if his affairs and opportunity permitted, he would meet the Engliſh king on his progreſs in the north of his dominions.

Henry accordingly proceeded to York, where he remained at leaſt ſix days. But James declining the conference, his uncle returned to London with ſentiments of deep indignation[9]. The anger was unjuſt, for if the Engliſh king were ſo deſirous to meet James, why not evince at once his ſpirit and conciliatory views, by viſiting the court of Scotland, after ſo many recent ſimilar examples of confidence among the greateſt monarchs? Sept. 20—26

Yet nearly a year was to elapſe, before open hoſtilities were to be diſplayed. James ſent an embaſſador to Henry to excuſe, in the moſt conciliating manner, his failure in the expected interview[1]. But the aſſumption of the title of king of Ireland by Henry, who had formerly been contented to imitate the modeſty of his predeceſſors, in admitting only the ſtyle of lords of that illuſtrious iſland, where the Engliſh poſſeſſions were indeed minute, was to occaſion freſh jealouſy between the monarchs[2]. Not only were many of the Iriſh chiefs 1542 29 Jan.

[9] Herbert, 533.

[1] Henry's manifeſto, in Hall's chronicle, f. v. 247.

[2] Herbert, 539. Leſl. 453. In the beginning of this year, O Neil, the ally of James, paid his ſubmiſſion to Henry at Greenwich, and was created earl of Tyrone. Hall, ſub anno. In Feb. 1542 James granted a ſafe conduct to the papal envoy, ſent to O Neil and the lords of Ireland. MS. Reg. 18 B. VI.

ancient

1542 ancient allies, or dependants, of Scotland; but ſome Scotiſh clans had actually ſettled in Ireland, and were underſtood to be among the immediate ſubjects of James. Yet the failure of the expedition of Edward Bruce, and the want of a ſtrong fleet, prevented the Scotiſh kings from aſſerting their claims to that iſland; and though the catholic chieftains warmly deſired the protection of James, he, with ſome impatience, was conſtrained to concede the high title of king of Ireland to the ambition of Henry.

Notwithſtanding the continued artifices of the clergy, to inſtigate James to a war againſt his heretical uncle, commiſ-
4 July ſioners appointed on both ſides met on the borders, and iſſued the accuſtomed mandates for the preſervation of peace [3].

Beton had now probably returned from his embaſſy, and it's apparent object had been in ſome meaſure defeated by a rupture between the emperor and the French king; which diverting the arms of both rendered an alliance againſt Henry impoſſible. Francis had already invaded the dominions of his adverſary, in five different places; but far from purſuing his former policy he declined any connection with Henry, and ſent Morvilliers as embaſſador to Scotland, with a ſupply of arms and ammunition to James, who was to be another victim of French policy [4]. It is probable that Beton's zeal had flattered Francis with the wild idea that England, being diſaffected, was ready to receive James as her ſovereign. The wiſhes of a partizan, and ſtill more thoſe of a bigot, will often impoſe on himſelf, and miſrepreſent even the moſt manifeſt diſpoſitions of a whole nation: and it is probable that Francis, truſting to Beton's complete information on the ſubject, in ſome ſhape authorized by repeated inſurrections in the

[3] Henry's manifeſto. [4] Leſl. 456. Herbert, 543, 547.

north

north of England, ſhould have been thus induced to leave James to conduct the war againſt that kingdom alone; a conduct which ſeems otherwiſe incompatible with the known generoſity of the French monarch. 1542

It had long been the decided wiſh of the Scotiſh clergy to impell their king to a war againſt England, in order to prevent him from embracing the meaſures of his uncle in oppoſition to the Roman ſee. But the haughty and deſpotic ſpirit of Henry ſeems to have alſo conſpired to the deſtruction of James. Lord Herbert, the able and accurate hiſtorian of his reign, affirms that a rupture with Scotland had been reſolved upon; and Paget was ſent to Paris, in conſequence, to ſound the diſpoſition of Francis towards a continuance of the alliance with England; whom he found averſe from the propoſal [5]. Henry was highly enraged at the failure of the interview, which he particularly hoped, and deſired, in the abſence of Beton; and, finding conciliatory meaſures vain, determined to overawe James to his purpoſe by the force of arms. Yet even of Henry's reſentment the Scotiſh clergy were the ſole authors; and they cannot be acquitted of cauſing the deſtruction of an amiable monarch.

The firſt act of hoſtility ſeems obſcure: but if the Scotiſh borderers made an incurſion, ſuch events were provided for by the alliance between the two kingdoms, and were redreſſable by commiſſioners [6]. The Scotiſh embaſſador remained at the Engliſh Aug.

[5] Herbert, 541.

[6] Henry, in his manifeſto, aſſerts that the Scots on the 4th July ſuddenly entered England, to commit ravages. Yet James, in a letter to Lermont his embaſſador, (MS. Epiſt. reg. Sc. 20 Aug. regni 29,) aſſerts that the Engliſh made two incurſions before the Scots retaliated. The council of Scotland, in a letter of the ſame date to Lermont, ſay that the Engliſh had ravaged Paton, Aymouth, and other towns in the Merſe; while, on their ſide, James Doig, who led the

1542 Engliſh court: yet after many ſmall incurſions on both ſides, ſir Robert Bowes, inſtigated by the odious Angus and ſir George Douglas, who attended him in the expedition againſt their country, entered Scotland at the head of three thouſand cavalry, propoſing to ravage the frontiers, and deſtroy Jedburgh now
24 Aug. emergent from its ruins. But they were met at Haddenrig by Huntley and Home, and completely defeated: Bowes, Richard his brother, ſir William Mowbray, and others, to the amount of ſix hundred, being taken priſoners[7]; and Henry was to complain in his manifeſto that they were not admitted to ranſom. Angus was alſo taken, but eſcaped the due puniſhment of his manifold treaſons, by uſing his dagger againſt the captor. James was however ſo much pleaſed with this omen of ſucceſs, that he gave the lands of Hirſell to ſir Andrew Ker of Little Dean, for bringing the firſt intelligence[8].

Exaſperated by this diſgrace to his arms, Henry ordered an army of twenty thouſand men to aſſemble at York, under the command of Norfolk lieutenant of the northern counties. But James, who appears not to have been prepared for the war, into which his evil counſellors, and Henry's impetuoſity, had
Sept. hurried him, ſent embaſſadors to York[9]; and Norfolk agreed to

futeband, or infantry, that burned Carham and Cornwell, was caſhiered. Huntley the lieutenant proceeded to the frontiers that day, the 20th Aug. but an offer is made to withdraw the garriſons, if Henry will do the ſame.

Leſley, 455, ſays the Engliſh took 28 Scotiſh veſſels. But the incident is queſtionable, for both the kings, and all the original papers, are ſilent. Yet this event may have happened after Henry's manifeſto appeared. See Holinſhed, Hiſt. Scot. who confirms Leſley's account, and his book was printed in 1577, a year before Leſley's.

[7] Leſley, ib. Lindſay, 264. Remiſſion to the Douglaſes, Nov. 1544, Epiſt. R. S. II, 321, 323.

[8] Hume's Houſe of Douglas, II, 109.

[9] C. James to Henry, 10 Sept. Epiſt. R. S. MS. in bibl. Reg. Muſ. Brit. 18 B. VI.

James

to treat. James hinted a conſent to the deſired conference; but the place being ſtill a ſubject of heſitation, and the inſtructions of the embaſſadors ſo inadequate as to afford cauſe of ſuſpicion that delay alone was intended, the negotiation was abandoned [1]. Henry ordered his army to march; and at the ſame time iſſued a manifeſto [2] reviving the antiquated claim of homage from Scotland to England, ſupported by many fabulous examples from partial records, and monaſtic legends; but at the ſame time diſclaiming any intention to enforce it, and imputing the war to the interruption of the conference in the preceding year by James, after he had given his promiſe; to the ſupport afforded to the rebels in the north; to the denial of ſome ſmall debateable territory; and to inroads committed by the Scots, even during the negotiation. No manifeſto of James has reached us; and that of Henry has in itſelf little weight. 1542

Yet the intermediate treaty had been ſo long protracted, that the uſual ſeaſon for a campaign had elapſed before Norfolk entered Scotland, at the head of a gallant, though not numerous army, hardly exceeding thirty thouſand men. He gave to the flames about twenty villages, and the towns of Roxburgh and Kelſo: but the progreſs, though deſtructive, was not deep; a Scotiſh army of ten thouſand, under Huntley, Home, Seton, and Erſkine, watching every advantage to annoy the Engliſh, and preventing the extenſion of the ruin by detachments. At Farneton the biſhop of Orkney, and ſir 12 Oct.

James had written to Henry, on the 25th Auguſt, that the Engliſh and the Douglaſes, with 10,000 men and five banners, had invaded Scotland; but his lieutenant (Huntley) had met them, and the event there was no neceſſity to relate. MS. Reg. 18 B. VI. This epiſtle would little contribute to appeaſe Henry.

[1] Henry's manifeſto.

[2] See it apart in the Britiſh Muſeum, London 1542, 4to; or inſerted in the chronicles of Hall and Holinſhed.

1542 James Lermont, came to Norfolk's camp, as embaſſadors for peace; but without effect: yet, after an incurſion of eight days, the Engliſh general was conſtrained by the want of proviſions, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, to lead his army back to Berwick, and diſmiſs the ſoldiers to their reſpective abodes [1].

James finding a determined and ruinous war to have commenced, perceived too late that his conduct to the nobles had been the reverſe of that of his father, and that their unanimous concurrence, experienced by James IV, was not to be expected by a prince, who had, on repeated occaſions, ſacrificed their intereſts to thoſe of the clergy. Many of the Scotiſh chiefs had alſo embraced the reformed doctrines; and the preſent being not unjuſtly regarded as a war incited by the papal clergy againſt the chief ſupporter of the new faith, it became an object of pious zeal to counteract its progreſs. In vain did James endeavour to recover the affections of the ariſtocracy; for he now countenanced the prieſts, who gave in a new roll of proſcription, and confiſcation, againſt the numerous powerful and wealthy heretics [4]. His conduct was only ſuppoſed to be covered with a maſk, ſoon to be removed, and to diſcloſe the moſt petrifying features. The diſcontent of the peers ripened into murmurs, or was yet more dreadful from the deep ſilence which precedes a tempeſt. Their power had been irritated, not cruſhed, as that of the Engliſh lords by Henry VII. Their numerous followers conſidered themſelves as only bound to the obedience of their chieftains; the regal name had no

[1] Leſl. 457. Hall, f. 253, 254. Farneton I cannot find: Redpath is careleſly ſilent, Border Hiſt. 540. For this invaſion of October ſee alſo the remiſſion to the Douglaſes, Nov. 1544. Epiſt. R. S. II, 321, 323.

[4] Keith, 12, from Knox, p. 31.

ſuperlative

ſuperlative ſound: and the Scotiſh army may be ſaid to have 1542
as yet conſiſted of twenty or thirty ſeparate hoſts of rude militia, who, connected by the firmeſt tyes of tenure, obedience, and protection, to their diſtinct leaders, only reſpected the monarch as the nominal commander in chief. On the contrary, the Engliſh battalions were not uninitiated by foreign wars in military tactics, and diſcipline; and any local attachments had been ſo broken by the fall of ancient families, and by the progreſs of civilization, that they moved as one maſs at the voice of their general; and knew no fear, ſave that of diſhonour, and the frown of their monarch.

Though aware of theſe diſadvantages, James had, on the rupture of the negotiation, ordered an army of thirty thouſand to aſſemble at the Burrowmuir near Edinburgh; and had marched to Fala, near the weſtern extremity of the noted Oct.
chain called Lammermuir hills, being twenty miles on the route towards Kelſo, when the tidings arrived that Norfolk had withdrawn his forces [5]. The Scotiſh peers ungenerouſly ſeized the opportunity; and partly from diſaffection, partly perhaps from the not forgotten terrors of Flodden, declared that they would only act on the defenſive, and, as the enemy had retired, would not retaliate the invaſion. James, ſuſpecting a repetition of the ſcenes exhibited at Lauder bridge, under his grandfather, was forced to diſmiſs the array, and 1 Nov.
return with inconceivable chagrin [6].

[5] Leſl. 457. Lindſay, 269.

[6] Ibid. Niſbet in his Heraldry, Vol. I, p. 98, produces a charter to John Scot of Thirlſtane, granting an addition to his arms, and the motto *ready ay ready*, to reward the ſupport of the king at Soutra, when all the other chiefs deſired to retreat. It is dated at Fala moor, 27 *July* 1542; an error in the date, or a forged charter, as not only hiſtory, but the original papers of Auguſt concur to evince.

To

1542 To allay the anguiſh of his mind, the council, conſiſting chiefly of clergy, propoſed to levy a ſmall army of about ten thouſand, to retaliate, by an invaſion on the weſtern marches, the injuries and diſgrace inflicted by the arms of Norfolk [7]. Maxwell was appointed to the command, a leader indeed firmly attached to the king; but, with their uſual infatuation, the miniſters of James joined with him Caſſils, Glencairn, and other chiefs of the ſouth and weſt, who favoured the Engliſh intereſt and the reformation, whereas thoſe of the oppoſite party, however diſtant, ought to have been ſelected. The army advanced towards Solway firth, paſſed into Engliſh ground, and approached the river Eſk, when Oliver Sinclair, the king's favourite, was elevated on ſhields, to read the royal commiſſion, appointing the general and directing his procedure. A murmur aroſe among the diſaffected that this minion was nominated commander in chief: and the array, like a troubled ſea, was inſtantly agitated by uproar, tumult, and diſorder. Thomas Dacre and John Muſgrave, two Engliſh leaders, had advanced at the head of three or four hundred men to obſerve the motions of the enemy; and perceiving their diſſentient fluctuation, and an incapability of defence ariſing even to panic, immediately charged their ſcattered battalions. A ſpeedy flight completed the inglorious diſaſter. Among a thouſand priſoners, taken by the Engliſh, were Glencairn, Caſſils, Maxwell, Somerville, Gray, Oliphant, Fleming, with other chieftains of inferior note, who preferred a captivity in England to the chance of their ſovereign's indignation [8].

James,

[7] Norfolk wrote to James on the 10th Nov. concerning an exchange of priſoners. Haynes's Papers, p. 3.

[8] Leſl. 459. Buch. XIV, 60. Lindſay, 272—274. Hall, 254. Drummond, 226. See the names of the priſoners, and their ſureties, in Lodge's Illuſtrations,

James, in his impatience, had advanced to the caſtle of Carlaveroc, to learn with more ſpeed the ſucceſs of his arms. 1542
The repeated and cruel reverſes of fortune at Fala, and at Solway, overcame a mind ſtrong, but uncultivated by philoſophy or experience, and yet untaught to cure the ſtings of diſappointment with the balm of hope. The clouds of diſhonour darkened around his magnanimous ſoul, hitherto long brightened with ſucceſs and glory; and no ray pierced the horrid gloom of deſpair. In his eyes his reputation was irretrievably loſt: and that loſs a generous ſpirit cannot, would not, ſurvive. He abhorred the upbraiding eyes of mankind; and ſought refuge in the retirement of Falkland, where a

Illuſtrations, I, 37: Glencairn and Fleming were ranſomed when that paper was written; the other chiefs amounted to about ſixty. Oliver Sinclair was ſtyled *of Pitcairns*. Douglas Peerage, p. 63.

On the 9th Nov. 1542 James wrote to the pope, mentioning the invaſions of Bowes and Norfolk, the firſt at the head of 10,000; the latter of 40,000. He aſſerts that the war is waged becauſe he will not abandon the pontiff; and he deſires aid as the flame may ſpread to other kingdoms. MS. Reg. 18 B. VI.

In the ſame curious MS. there occurs a letter from James to Henry, 30 Nov. in the thirtieth year of his reign 1542, on occaſion of the murder of Somerſet herald, in Scotland, by William Leth and John Preiſtman Engliſh fugitives, and who were immediately impriſoned by the command of James. He ſhews every ſenſe of the enormity of the action, terms it "an unhappy and cruel enterprize," and an "odious crime;" is earneſt that it ſhall be puniſhed; and deſires a ſafe conduct to Lermont and Sir John Campbell, envoys to be ſent to receive Henry's inſtructions on the buſineſs. Herbert, p. 548, glances at this tranſaction, known to Hall and Stow; but I cannot find it in Leſley, whom he quotes; nor in Drummond, who is cited by Dr. Granger the continuator of Maitland, Vol. II, p. 834.

The next letter in the MS. is from the council of Scotland, 21 Dec. 1542, acknowledging the receipt of Henry's letter of the 10th directed to James, who was dead before it arrived: and ſurrendering the murderers to the juſt vengeance of the Engliſh king. They pathetically urge the tender age of their new ſovereign, "a babe incapable of good or harm," as an argument for peace.

burning

1542 burning fever preyed upon his frame. The birth of a daughter,
7 Dec. the unfortunate Mary, afforded no ſolace; his anguiſh only anſwering the meſſenger, "It came with a girl, and it will go with a girl." Seven days after, the agonies of death ſeized the vigorous youth of the monarch. The cardinal, Argyle, Rothes, Erſkine, Durie the phyſician, Sir David Lindſay, and a few others were in the chamber. He looked placidly on them from his bed; kiſſed his hand, and reached it to their ſalutations and tears; then, with a gracious ſmile of forgive-
14 Dec. neſs to all, he expired [9].

James V had lived only thirty years and eight months; his nominal reign was of twenty-nine years, his real authority of fourteen. Beſides Mary, the legitimate heireſs of the misfortunes of her anceſtors, he left ſix natural children. Elizabeth Shaw, of the family of Sauchie, bore to him one ſon James abbot of Kelſo and Melroſe, who was educated by Buchanan, but died in 1558. Another James [1], afterwards the noted regent Murray, was the iſſue of Margaret Erſkine, daughter of John lord Erſkine, a lady who paſſed from the royal concubinage to a marriage with Robert Douglas of Lochleven. By Euphemia daughter of lord Elphinſton, James had Robert prior of Holyroodhouſe, afterwards earl of Orkney. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Carmichael, was the mother of

[9] Lindſay, 275, 276. Leſl. 459. Buch. XIV, 61. The date of his death is confirmed by the Harleian MS. 2363, written by a contemporary; and by Cal. B. V, 192; and B. VIII, 296, where it is obſerved that Mary was born on the 7th Dec. *eight days* (or a week) before her father's deceaſe.

[1] A charter of 31 Aug. 1536 ſpecially diſtinguiſhes theſe two ſons, mentioning the elder as begotten on the late Elizabeth Shaw; the younger as the iſſue of Margaret Erſkine: as the former had many benefices, Tantallon is thereby taken from him, and aſſigned to the latter. Scotſt. Cal.

two

two children, John prior of Coldingham, afterwards, by marrying the heireſs, earl of Bothwell; and Janet, wedded to the earl of Argyle. Adam prior of the Chartreux at Perth, was the ſon of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of John earl of Lennox [z]. 1542

[z] Crawf. hiſt. Stuarts, 49—51, edit. 1782.

BOOK XVI.

A RETROSPECT OF THE STATE OF SCOTLAND, DURING THE REIGNS OF JAMES IV, AND V.

Sect. 1. *State of the people, and of civilization*—2. *Government, laws, tactics*—3. *Agriculture, useful arts*—4. *Commerce, money, navigation*—5. *Ecclesiastic history, literature, language*—6. *Ornamental arts, manners, dress.*

SECTION I.

State of the people, and of civilization.

1488—1542 THAT paradoxical philosophy which supposes man more happy in a savage, than in a civilized condition, will never find converts among the sons of science. To solid information, to enlarged views, to candid discussion, to genuine ratiocination, the idea will ever appear a dream of ignorant genius, a vision of the golden age of the ancient poets:

Di latte
Se'n corse il fiume, et stillò mele il bosco.

Whether we peruse the imperfect records of barbaric ages, or the page of the modern traveller, which delineates nations yet in

in infancy, and repreſents antiquities coeval with ourſelves, 1488—
the comparative miſery of the ſavage will ever appear predo- 1542
minant. Few and inſipid are his enjoyments, the animal pleaſures merely animal, unheightened by anticipation, by memory, by imagination, by the thouſand nameleſs elegancies of civic life. To ſeize his prey in the romantic foreſt, or paſtoral ſtream, is not his amuſement, but his occupation, filled with cares leſt his want of ſucceſs ſhould leave himſelf and his family to famine. From the delays, ſuſpence, and anxieties, of judicature he is free, but he is expoſed to lawleſs violence; he defrays no taxes, but he enjoys no ſecurity of perſon nor property; his merit is not ſuppreſſed by the malice of party, the inſolence of office, nor the frigid frown of dropſical wealth, but it expires unſeen and uncelebrated, like the flowers of his foreſts. A ſtranger if not to the miſeries, yet to the unfeeling ridicule, which in mercantile ſtates attends penury, he is equally a ſtranger to that eaſe which opens and enlarges the mind to pleaſures before unknown, and is itſelf one conſtant enjoyment. Free from ſome of the cares of civilized life, his uncultivated mind is expoſed to all the fury of the paſſions. The day of puny conflict, the tortures of the captives, are feaſts to his ſanguinary diſpoſition; and if he die bravely, it is becauſe he feels that his exiſtence is miſerable. In his eyes there is no providence, life and nature are a formleſs maſs without intelligence or plan; and he dies a ſtranger to all the enlightened virtues, utilities, and decorations of life. If he expoſe his children to the wild beaſts, or ſell them as ſlaves; if he bury his father alive, when too aged to procure his own ſubſiſtence; if he offer human victims to grim idols, ſtigmatize his forehead with their blood, perhaps devour their fleſh, can we praiſe his mercy? If he take every opportunity to rob the ſtranger, can we praiſe his honeſty? If he be falla-

1488—1542 cious as uneducated infancy, can we applaud his truth? If his feſtival be riot, his love brutal luſt, where is his temperance? If he prefer aſſaſſination to open combat, where is the generous courage of a man? If his ſtrength oppreſs the weak, if his ſly cunning circumvent the unwary, where is his juſtice? Where are his virtues, except in the want of opportunities of vice? Where in ſhort are all the vaunted morals and enjoyments of the ſavage, except in the theoretic page of fanciful philoſophy?

But whether the ſum of the contentment of the poor, for happineſs is too bold a word for human exiſtence, be greater in barbaric or in civilized ages is a different queſtion. Among our German anceſtors, when the whole produce of agriculture was equally divided among the tribe [1], there could be no poſitive poverty, except it deſervedly fell on the gambler, who would pledge his property, and ſometimes even his perſon, as a ſtake [2]. The chiefs, originally choſen for their courage, wiſdom, and ſuperior perſonal appearance and ſtrength, having a larger ſhare in any warlike prey, became opulent in horſes, herds, and flocks, the ſole wealth of the country, and epoch. Inheritance may be termed an innate idea among all nations; the ſons of the chiefs became rich in the fortune of their fathers; and diſtinguiſhed by their opulence, and in time by the deeds of many anceſtors, they became kings, or nobles, of the ſmall community. A further progreſs erected one king over a wide territory; and the former petty princes ſometimes were eradicated, ſometimes became only the barons of a more powerful ſtate. But the barbarians, nations of ſoldiers, either acquired their ſubſiſtence by prey, or by laſting conqueſts, or by ſharing the bounty of their chiefs; and the ſlaves alone could be termed poor.

[1] Tacit. Germ. [2] Ibid.

The

The uſage of ſlavery among ancient nations prevented any occaſion of beggary. In diſtreſs to become ſlaves, was the laſt refuge of the miſerable; and their maſter provided objects for their induſtry, and ſubſiſtence for their lives. The chriſtian ſyſtem did not oppoſe this practiſe: the early chriſtians had their ſlaves [3]; and though the popes, in the ninth century, prohibited the Venetians to ſell believers as ſlaves to the Mahometans [4], yet the poor people of England continued even to the twelfth century to ſell their children as ſlaves to the Iriſh [5]. But modern charity would ſhrink from the advice of a great political writer [6], to reſtore the cuſtom of ſlavery as the only mean of deliverance from the recent evils of beggary and poors'-rates: an opulent manufacturer never ſupporting the ſick, aged, or helpleſs; while a rich Roman would not only employ five thouſand ſlaves, but furniſh an aſylum for all in every ſtage of exiſtence. 1488—1542

In a more immediate view of the preſent topic, it appears that the condition of the poor, as well as of the rich, is greatly ameliorated by civilization. New diſadvantages, it muſt be confeſſed, ariſe; the population becomes ſo numerous that the ſubſiſtence is of courſe more difficult: and hardly, except in civilized ſociety, can the poor man ſhun marriage, or execrate the increaſe of his family. But this defect may often ariſe from the fault of the governors, occupied in futile wars, factious plans, and the miſerable chicane of office, inſtead of attending

[3] Among other authorities ſee an inſcription in the Recherches ſur les Antiquités de Vienne of Nicolas Chorier, Lyon, 1658, 12mo, p. 221.

[4] Anaſtaſius vita Zachariæ Papæ, an. 747; Danduli Chron. Venet. an. 878.

[5] Wil. Malmſb. Vita Wulfſtani, Anglia Sacra II, 258. Chronicon Hib. Domit. A. XVIII, an. 1172. Thorkelin's learned tract on the ſlave-trade in Europe, London, 1788, 8vo.

[6] Fletcher of Salton, Diſc. 2, on Scotiſh affairs, p. 87, edit. 1749.

to

1488—1542 to their ſole duty, the general welfare of the community. The poor however, inſtead of being the ſlaves of their landlords, are free to carry their induſtry and ſkill to the beſt market, and ſhare in the ſocial opulence: the uncertain life of a ſoldier is exchanged for ſecurity, and comparative eaſe: their little property is ſacred from violence: and they exult when they ſee the evening ſmoke aſcend from their cottages, and welcome their return from labour to a peaceful meal, and chearful family; nor can the rich forbear to envy their night's repoſe.

Man wants but little, nor that little long.

As the wants and wiſhes of the poor are but few and moderate, they have far more numerous opportunities of gratifying them in civilized, than in barbaric, ſociety: opulence opens the hand of charity, and the ſtores of foreign commerce contribute to the wealth or comfort of the peaſant; while the very ſcenes riſing around him, the attic manſion, the improved town, the navigable canal, not only encourage his induſtry, but increaſe his enjoyments; as it has been obſerved that a Neapolitan *lazarone* would not exchange conditions with a Ruſſian noble; ſo much of the pleaſure of exiſtence is derived from ſurrounding objects. And ſuch is the influence of induſtry in advanced ſociety, that the poor enjoy conveniencies which, in a barbaric ſtate, the great would account luxuries. Granting all human conditions comparative, we may eſtimate the advantages of civilization by the voice of the ſavage, and of the barbarian: what Engliſh ſailor, though expoſed to the rage of enemies, and fury of the ocean, ever envied the American ſavage? what Engliſh mendicant, the rude Siberian? But the ſavage chief will be proud to ſhare the habiliments, or little luxuries, of the mariner; the Siberian would envy the dainty proviſions, and luxurious eaſe, of the mendicant. By the ſame plan of providence, in which man ariſes from infancy to youth and maturity, from which

which he is ſoon to decline, human ſociety has its progreſſive ſtages of amelioration, till it attain the higheſt ſtate, after which it tends to declenſion. 1488—1542

The progreſs of Scotland towards civilization, during the reigns of James IV and V, appears to have been ſomewhat more rapid than at any preceding period, though the minority of the latter prince formed a conſiderable interruption. The ſtatute alone, of the former monarch, concerning education is worthy of an ancient legiſlator. But it concerns the rich only; and this ſection is devoted to the ſtate of the middle ranks, and of the poor. Among the ordinances chiefly intended for their advantage, may be enumerated thoſe for the preſervation of the public peace againſt the inroads of the great; thoſe prohibiting the levying of *cauſes*, or pretended benevolences of horſes, cattle, or the like, accuſtomed to be wreſted from the poor by the landlords in Galloway and Carric [7]. The ſtatute of James I, concerning mendicants, was ratified both by James IV and V [8]. It was ordained that no officer ſhould diſtrain inſtruments of agriculture in the ſeaſon of tillage; and that foreſtallers of grain, fleſh, fiſh, or other articles, ſhould forfeit the whole. Lands falling in ward are not to be injured; and the tenants, labourers, and other inhabitants, are not liable to be removed till the expiration of their yearly leaſe, at the enſuing whitſunday: and all are permitted to ſell grain all the days of the week, as well as on the market day. The tenants of the royal domains are eſpecially exempted from any ſervices to the adjacent landholders [9].

But from other authorities it appears that great oppreſſion of the farmers, and cottagers, ſtill prevailed; and the landlords

[7] Acts, 1490, c. 8, 18, 19. [8] 1504, c. 70. 1535, c. 22.
[9] 1504, c. 98. 1535, c. 21. 1491, c. 26. 1493, c. 44. 1490, c. 21.

continued

1488—1542 continued to prefer their pride to their intereſt. "The lords, ſays queen Margaret in a letter of Sept. 1523, regard not the diſaſters of the poor, but laugh at them." Though the leaſes were generally annual, we find exceſſive *graſſums*, or fines for renewal, arranged among the grievances of the time[1]. The ſufferings of the poor peaſants, by the extortions of the clergy in particular, form a conſiderable part of Lindſay's ſatyrical play, firſt acted in 1540[2]. At a far later period the author of an intereſting memoir concerning the ſtate of Scotland, about 1590, obſerves that the huſbandmen were a kind of ſlaves, only holding their lands from year to year; that the nobility being too numerous for the extent of the country, there aroſe too great an inequality of rank and revenue; and there was no middle ſtation between a proud landholder, and thoſe who, having no property to loſe, were ready for any tumult[3]. A rich yeomanry, numerous merchants and tradeſmen of property, and all the denominations of the middle claſs, ſo important in a flouriſhing ſociety, were long to be confined to England.

John Mair in his deſcription of Scotland, 1521, preſents ſome particulars worthy of commemoration. He mentions Leith as the chief port, and obſerves that, between it and Edinburgh, there was a ſmall but rich village, famous for the woolen manufacture, and from which the beſt cloths in Scotland derived their name. Perth was the only fortified town, the Scots being little verſed either in fortification, or ſiege; but

[1] Ancient Scotiſh Poems, Edin. 1770, p. 51, 261. An act 1522, c. 4, ordains that the heirs of ſuch tenants as fall in battle ſhall enter free from *graſſum*, only paying the rent, and performing the uſual *duties* and *ſervices*, which long continued to reduce the farmers almoſt to a ſtate of villenage.

[2] Scotiſh Poems, London, 1792, Vol. II.

[3] MS. Sloane 3199, art. 94, extracted from MS. Aſhmole 781, p. 11.

diſplaying

diſplaying great promptitude in repelling an enemy. The ecclesiaſtic polity was far inferior to that of England, there being often thirty hamlets attached to one pariſh church, diſtant from ſome of them four, five, or even ten miles: but every laird had his chapel and chaplain, and ſome more. The cures were few, but rich; and generally adminiſtred by deputies. The houſes of the farmers were ſmall, becauſe they only rented by the year, at the moſt for four or five; ſo that, though ſtone were common, there was no deſire to erect good houſes, to plant trees or hedges, or to enrich the ground; and Mair juſtly expreſſes his regret for the conſequent loſs, and diſgrace, to the kingdom at large. He adds that if perpetual leaſes were granted, the rent might be tripled, and yet the tenants become rich; and the homicides which followed their removal be avoided, for a tenant of ſpirit would kill his ſucceſſor to deſpite the lord. Nor would the lords have cauſe to alledge that, in caſe of long leaſes, the tenants being independent would not ariſe with them in arms, for a law might paſs ordaining in ſuch defaults the loſs of the leaſe: and better it were that the ſuperiors could not ſo ſpeedily recur to force. Mair repeats an advice of Robert the great on his death-bed, that the Scotiſh kings ſhould attempt to retain all the iſles in their own hands, as abounding with cattle and warriors; and the detached government being moſt pernicious to the intereſts of the monarchy: the poſſeſſors to be recompenſed by other lands. He blames the farmers for their contempt of manufactures, and of citizens, whom they regarded as effeminate: while they, leaving the agricultural operations to ſervants, affected to ride conſtantly with their lords, perhaps a reſpect neceſſary to ſecure their brief leaſes. The nobles he equally cenſures for perpetual feuds with their neighbours; and a complete neglect of the education of their ſons. Mair cloſes his intereſting 1488—1542

1488—1542 remarks by deſcribing the highlanders as partly poſſeſſed of cattle and horſes, of which laſt two or three hundred, wild and unbroken, would be brought by one highlander to Perth or Dundee, and ſold for two francs each: but the others more ſavage only hunted, or followed their chiefs, in their conſtant expeditions and conflicts. They wore *caligæ*, or trouſe, reaching only to the middle of the leg, a mantle, and a ſhirt ſtained with ſaffron, their weapons a bow and arrows, a broad ſword, ſmall halbert, large dagger of one edge; armour, mail of iron rings: but the common people wore in battle jackets of quilted linnen, waxed or pitched, and covered with deer's ſkin; while the lowlanders like the Engliſh fought in ſhort clokes [4].

There being no manufactures, the poor were chiefly occupied in the numerous menial trains of the great; or in the more uſeful employments of agriculture, and paſturage. The cottagers and ſervants of farmers, were almoſt as rich as their maſters; and far leſs harraſſed with care. But barren are the materials to form an eſtimation of the ſtate of a million of poor, while a few thouſands of more fortunate families attract alike the notice of the heralds, and the old annaliſts.

In the burghs, the choſen ſeats of freedom, the advancement, as may be expected, was greater. The regulations concerning them are numerous. In 1490 it was ordered that the uſages of Edinburgh, in raiſing the rents due to ſuperiors, ſhould be extended to Perth, and other burghs [5]. An act of

[4] Hiſt. lib. I, c. 6, 7, 8. Boyce's idle elocution in his deſcription of Scotland, and account of manners, preſents not one particle of ſolid information.

It is to be regretted that Bowar, 1444, has given but few hints on the ſtate of the country. His predeceſſor Fordun, lib. II, c. 9, edit. Hearne, is content to obſerve that the highlanders ſpoke Iriſh, the lowlanders Teutonic; and that the latter were decently clothed and civilized, while the former were mere ſavages. [5] Cap. 20.

1491 prohibits any numerous meetings, except commanded by the magiſtrates[6]: the revenue of each burgh is ordered to be expended for ts advantage, by the town-council and deacons of crafts, who are to be reſponſible yearly in the circuit-court of the chamberlain; and no deſcription of their property is permitted to be let for a term exceeding three years: no cordiner, nor other craftsman, is to exact a duty from one of the ſame trade coming to the market to ſell: deacons of craft are not allowed, as the practiſe tended to commotions and oppreſſion; and maſons and carpenters are not to charge for holidays[7]. In 1504 it is ordained that the provoſts, and other magiſtrates, be changed annually, and that none except reſident merchants be appointed: the ancient privileges are confirmed, and none except freemen of burghs are permitted to trade, ſell wine, wax, ſilk, ſpices, ſtuffs, or ſtaple goods[8]. The important ſtatute of 1535, concerning the magiſtracy, is already ſtated in the hiſtorical narrative. 1488—1542

More minute ſtatutes occur concerning the prices demanded by artiſans, which are ordered to be regulated by the magiſtrates; who are alſo impowered to affix thoſe of wine, ſalt, and timber, imported. But the cordiners, ſmiths, bakers, brewers, and other craftſmen, continuing their extortions, their prices are referred to a committee of the lords; and malt-makers are only to charge two ſhillings advance on each boll of barley[9]. To prevent foreſtalling it was decreed, in 1541,

[6] Cap. 34. [7] Ib. c. 36, 42, 43. [8] Cap. 80, 84.

[9] 1494, c. 56. 1541, c. 100. 1535, c. 30, 29. From c. 111, parl. 1541, it appears that the craftſmen pretended to make "private acts and conſtitutions" among themſelves; their groſs injuſtice perhaps induced our kings to eſtabliſh the oligarchic form of municipality. Lindſay in his Play, p. 191 ſeq. cenſures the arts and extortions of weavers, clothiers, millers, butchers, taylors, brewers, bakers, carpenters, maſons, blackſmiths, goldſmiths.

1488—1542 that no fiſh ſhould be ſold in the markets to retailers, except between the hours of eleven and two, and the price is ſubmitted to the magiſtrates. A ſtatute of the ſame parliament permits all the ſubjects to ſell bread and fleſh, on three market-days in the week, at Edinburgh the capital, on account of the great reſort of natives and ſtrangers [1].

Even about 1590 the author of the memorial above mentioned obſerves that the burghs were chiefly influenced by the neighbouring peers; Coupar by Rothes, Perth by Montroſe, and other inſtances. The merchants were few and poor; and one hundred pounds ſterling was eſteemed wealth. The tradeſmen were loſt in the popular penury; and only three trades flouriſhed, coarſe cloth, armour, and linnen. There were alſo few lawyers except at Edinburgh [2].

When ſuch was the ſtate of the lowlands, that of the highlands was far more barbarous. On the death of James V one John Eldar, a clergyman who, as he informs us himſelf, was a native of Caithneſs, and had ſtudied for twelve years in the three *ſouthern* univerſities, retired to England, and preſented to Henry VIII a Project of a Union between the two kingdoms. It is an ignorant and traitorous exhortation to the Engliſh king to ſubdue Scotland, and expell cardinal Beton, and the biſhops; but it preſents ſome curious articles concerning the manners of the highlanders. In explaining the reaſon of the appellation *Redſhanks*, given to the highlanders, he thus proceeds. "Moreover wherefore they call us in Scotland Redſhanks, and in your grace's dominion of England *Rough-footed Scots*, pleaſe it your majeſty to underſtand, that we of all people can tolerate, ſuffer, and away beſt with cold: for both ſummer and winter, (except when the froſt is moſt ve-

[1] Cap. 98, 121, 122. [2] Ut ſupra.

hement,)

hement,) going always bare-legged and bare-footed, our de- 1488—
light and pleaſure is not only in hunting of red-deer, wolves, 1542
foxes, and *graies*, whereof we abound and have great plenty; but alſo in running, leaping, ſwimming, ſhooting, and throwing of darts. Therefore in ſo much as we uſe, and delight, ſo to go always, the tender delicate gentlemen of Scotland call us *Redſhanks*."

"And again in winter, when the froſt is moſt vehement, (as I have ſaid,) which we cannot ſuffer bare-footed, ſo well as ſnow which can never hurt us, when it comes to our girdles, we go a hunting; and after that we have ſlain red-deer, we flay off the ſkin by and by, and ſetting of our bare foot on the inſide thereof, for want of cunning ſhoemakers, by your grace's pardon, we play the coblers, compaſſing and meaſuring ſo much thereof, as ſhall reach up to our ancles: pricking the upper part thereof with holes, that the water may repaſs where it enters; and ſtretching it up with a ſtrong thong of the ſame above our ſaid ancles. So, and pleaſe your noble grace, we make our ſhoes. Therefore we uſing ſuch manner of ſhoes, the rough hairy ſide outward, in your grace's dominion of England we be called *Rough-footed Scots*[3]."

The

[3] Holograph MS. ſigned by the author, Bibl. Reg. 18 A XXXVIII. He ſays, p. 4, that the Iriſh lords of Scotland, otherwiſe called Redſhanks, were all attached to England, except Argyle: in p. 7 he promiſes a deſcription of Scotland, and a map: p. 10, &c. he ridiculouſly confounds the Iriſh, or highlanders, called Redſhanks, with the ancient Picts. He afterwards makes remarks on highland names; ſuch as that Macleod ne Hair implies *filius Ludovici de Hirtha inſula*: Makenny *filius Kennoci*, &c. and he adds that in Ireland the name paſſes from grandfather to grandſon, as Obrien, *nepos Bernardi*. In the reign of James V he ſays the attendants of the highland lords were dreſſed like the lowlanders, who term the former wild, rude, and barbarous: and he flatters Henry VIII with the poſſeſſion of many "good hearts" among the Iriſh lords of Scotland, as he always terms them: his goodneſs being thus ſynonymous with treaſon.

1488—1542 The manners and dreſs of the common people of Scotland, during this period, may beſt be diſcerned from the contemporary ſtatutes, poems, and other writings. In 1504 it is ordered that no markets nor fairs be held on holidays, nor at any time in churches or church-yards [4]: a regulation which now appears ſingular, becauſe the eccleſiaſtic origin of fairs, *feriæ*, and markets is forgotten. The market for grain and meal being in the high ſtreet of Edinburgh, James V ordered it to be moved to a more convenient place. In 1535 the act of James I concerning inns was reinforced; and the barons, and magiſtrates of burghs, were ordered to ſee that the innkeepers ſold fleſh, fiſh, bread, and ale, at the rates uſual in ſuch houſes; and had proper ſtabling, racks, mangers, corn, hay, and ſtraw: the penalty, indictment at the juſticiary court [5].

Among the games and paſtimes, Lindſay the hiſtorian mentions ſhooting with the bow at pricks, rovers, or buts; leaping, running, wreſtling, and caſting of the penny-ſtone or quoit [6]. Even the women are branded by Dunbar, and other poets, for drinking ale, or malmſey if they could procure it, to exceſs [7]. The *plays*, or annual feſtivals mentioned in a former retroſpect, ſeem to have been retained till the reformation, about which period a poet mentions that at Bowden [8].

The tale of the Friars of Berwick, perhaps written by Dunbar, preſents a curious picture of the domeſtic life of a farmer. His houſe has a *but* and a *ben*, or two apartments, and ſeveral other conveniences. Two friars arriving are treated with bread and

treaſon. Botero in his *Relationi Univerſali*, or deſcription of the world, Ferrara, 1592, 8vo, ſays of the highlanders, p. 491, "Parlano la lingua d'Hibernia, onde tirano origine, e ſi chiamano ſalvatiche."

[4] Cap. 83. [5] 1541, c. 103; 1535, c. 18. [6] P. 229.
[7] Maitland Poems, Vol. I, p. 113, &c. [8] Ibid. 135.

cheeſe

cheeſe and ale, being favourites with the women, to whom they repeated tales, and miracles of ſaints: but for a treat to her lover, another of the ſame holy claſs, the wife has provided capons and rabbits; while a boiled ſheep's-head and feet are produced for the huſband on his unexpected return [9]. 1488—1542

With regard to the dreſs of the common people, it continued much the ſame till the ſeventeenth century; and the faſhions of the ſuperior claſſes had no influence upon their humble garments. A ſtatute informs us that ſhoes were commonly ſold for twelve pence the pair in 1493, or about three pence ſterling [1]. Lindſay deſcribes a groom's dreſs in 1528 as conſiſting of a coat and hoſe, a cloke, and bonnet [2]. To the regulations of female dreſs, ordered by James II, and formerly recited, may be added that a farmer's wife, to receive her lover, attires herſelf in a kirtle or cloſe gown of fine red cloth, a white kerchief on her head, a belt of ſilk adorned with ſilver, with a purſe and keys; and two rings on each finger [3]. And ſoon after this period we find a wanton country girl deſcribed as wearing a red kirtle, brown hoſe, and her long yellow hair hanging down from under her kerchief [4]. But in the chief towns the dreſs of the women was more extravagant with long trains, an object of ſevere ſatire to Lindſay the poet.

[9] Ibid. 67, &c. [1] Cap. 42.

[2] Hiſt. 218. For the dreſs of inferior ranks few materials ariſe; and that of the men in particular is paſſed in ſilence by the poets, and other contemporaries. The coat now began to ſupplant the jacket.

[3] Maitland Poems, I, 70. [4] Ibid. 136.

SECTION

1488—
1542

SECTION II.

Government, Laws, Tactics.

SO ample a deſcription has been given of the Scotiſh conſtitution, in the preceding retroſpect, that little information can be added. A ſtatute of 1493 continues to brand the government of James III, by repreſenting him as not only by evil counſels laviſhing away the royal domains, but as receiving reſignations, and granting enfeofments, in prejudice of the righteous heirs [5]. In 1490 a tax having been impoſed to defray the expence of an embaſſy, it is ordered that the prelates aſſeſs the clergy: but that the ſheriffs and royal bailiffs, having been often charged before by the king's letters, ſhall in a week produce the quotas of the barons: and the provoſts and bailies of burghs ſhall preſent their portions on a ſhort warning, under pain of impriſonment. It is added that as the lords in parliament learn that letters of diſcharge from the tax have been granted by the king to ſome prelates and peers, they are annulled; "as the king could not remit the tax, it being granted by the eſtates to the embaſſador for an appointed purpoſe [6]." The noted ordinance concerning *leaſing-making*, or political ſlander, was explained not only to imply falſe reports to the king, concerning the barons, great men, or ſubjects in general; but alſo miſrepreſentations to them of the conduct of their ſovereign [7]: an important addition, and which ſhews that the ſtatute was before underſtood only to refer to a kind of *ſcandalum magnatum*.

[5] Cap. 50. [6] Cap. 9. [7] 1540, c. 83.

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The treaſure collected by the avarice of the third James, was ſoon diſſipated by his ſucceſſor among a covetous ariſtocracy. In 1490 a ſtatute appears, revoking all alienations by James IV ſince his coronation; "ſo that all lands, rents, cuſtoms, burrow-rents, farms, marts, mutton, poultry, average, carriage, and other duties," then belonging to the crown may continue in their former ſtate[8]. On the marriage of that prince to Margaret of England, her jointure is computed at two thouſand pounds ſterling, perhaps about twenty thouſand of modern currency: in the uſual proportion of one third the revenue ariſing from the royal domains, and the cuſtoms, might amount to ſixty thouſand of our pounds, excluſive of benefices, wards, marriages, and other emoluments of the crown. The marriages of James V afford no poſitive evidence[9]. 1488—1542

So ſlow was the progreſs of government in Scotland, that the valuable memoir above quoted, written about 1590, may be ſafely uſed. It is there obſerved that the king had no negative in parliament, but the memoiriſt forgets the dangerous negative before debate, ſecured by the inſtitution of the lords of the articles: that moſt offices were hereditary even thoſe of the ſheriffs, who not only execute *res judicatas* as in England, but judge in civil and criminal caſes: that the lords of ſeſſion elected

[8] Cap. 10.

[9] In an account of the revenue of Scotland, A. D. 1667, MS. Harl. 6836, f. 29—60, collected by ſir William Purves, ſolicitor general, from the rolls and records of exchequer, the chief heads are lands, cuſtoms, blanch duties yearly accompted for by the ſheriffs, wards, marriages, eſcheats of baſtards, nonentries, fines, licences; gratuities or taxes are ranked as inconſtant revenue. In 1502 the earldom of March, annexed to the crown, yielded yearly 5121*l.* 6*s.* Scotiſh: in 1538 Jedburgh foreſt was of the annual value of 300*l.*: Glaſgow paid 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d*; Lanark 40*l.* The herring fiſhery in the Hebudes, annexed to the crown in 1593, was in 1620 let to Mr. John Archibald for 1000*l.* in f. v. 43, are given the details of the herring duties.

1488—1542 their own members, and the king's recommendation was deſpiſed: that the pardon of crimes was not a peculiar prerogative of the crown, many peers exerting it in their hereditary judicatures: that the king cannot make peace, or war, but with the conſent of the three eſtates: that in war the ſubjects only follow the king thirty days on their own proviſions, and diſmiſs if no further conditions be ſtipulated; hence they protract the operations, and the nobles often riſe in mutiny, having no reward nor intereſt in a ſevere and unwilling ſervice. The writer adds that James III tore the earl of Morton's charter, becauſe it bore a juriſdiction without any appeal to the king; but he was forced to ſew it. "Among the highlanders he ſeemeth to have no more authority, than he can get by intereſt or force[1]."

In this memoir the crown lands remaining at the time, are only eſtimated at the yearly value of five thouſand pounds ſterling. The exports are ſtated at two hundred thouſand pounds; and the cuſtoms were of courſe ſmall, perhaps about twenty thouſand pounds, Scotiſh money, a year. The confiſcations and wardſhips were boldly claimed by the nobles, as ſoon as they fell: and while their own revenues were far too large, in proportion either to thoſe of the king or commons, they greedily graſped at the ſcanty royal income, which it ought to have been their duty and honour to enlarge.

Lindſay in his play written about 1540, points out many reforms neceſſary in the government: that all the temporal lands be let in feu-farm, after the French form, or a ſoccage tenure free from military ſervice: that the lords ſhould not ſupport robbers to oppreſs the poor: that a ſenate of juſtice be appointed at Elgin or Inverneſs, for the northern regions, as well as that at Edinburgh for the ſouthern: that no temporal

[1] MS. ut ſupra.

ſuit

ſuit be brought before eccleſiaſtic courts: that no benefices be 1488—
aſſigned, except to learned eccleſiaſtics who can preach: that 1542
none ſhall purchaſe benefices either from the pope or the king: that the vicars be debarred from robbing the poor, on pretence of *corſe-preſents*, and the like: that the clergy ſhall reſide: that except in the caſes of the archbiſhoprics no money paſs to Rome for bulls of confirmation, as neither Peter nor Paul ever drew money in that net: that prieſts may marry: that no barons wed the baſtard daughters of the rich clergy [2].

The magnificence of the court of James IV rather correſponded with his mind, than with his revenue: and the new profeſſion of courtier ſeems firſt to dawn in his reign. Dunbar and other contemporary poets aim their ſatire againſt this new claſs of men, their inſignificant pretenſions, their affected ſervices, their ſlaviſh cunning and arts, their mean hypocriſy; while they really only formed a cloud to hide truth and merit from the royal eye. On the acquiſition of the Hebudes, as before ſtated, that monarch gave a more appropriated title to his eldeſt ſon, than the diminutive ſtyle of duke of Rothſay, that of prince of Scotland and of the Iſles [3]. The latter would have been the beſt provincial denomination; but the change, like moſt others for the better, was ſet aſide.

The ancient court of ſeſſion, conſiſting of committees of parliament, if it rather ſleeped during the reign of James III, was revived by his ſon; for in 1504 the court of daily council was created, "becauſe there has been great confuſion of ſummonds at every ſeſſion," ſo that leiſure or opportunity would not ſerve to terminate them at one ſitting in the year, and the poor thus wanted juſtice; therefore a daily council is appointed

[2] Scotiſh Poems, 1792, Vol. II, p. 254—259.

[3] Carta J. IV, 1 Jan. 1508 in Reg. as tutor of his ſon, JACOBI PRINCIPIS SCOTIÆ ET INSULARUM.

1488—1542 to ſit continually at Edinburgh, at the royal reſidence, or where the king ſhall chuſe, to decide all civil cauſes, "and have the ſame power as the lords of ſeſſion[4]." This court continued till James V created the new court of ſeſſion in 1532, as we have ſeen[5].

The *crowner*, or coroner, continues to attract notice even in the reign of James V, with which his ancient office ſeems to expire. Two ſtatutes, of 1529 and 1535, regulate the manner in which the coroners are to proceed, in arreſting criminals indicted in the courts of juſticiary[6]. The abſurd privilege of ſanctuary is reſtricted by an act, ordering the eccleſiaſtics to appoint lay keepers, who are inſtantly to ſurrender murderers to the ſheriff, bailiff, or ſteward, of the county[7].

Thoſe whoſe curioſity may prompt them to ſtudy the legal procedures of the times, may find ample materials in the ſtatutes. Suffice it here to obſerve that the *brief* maintained its

[4] Cap. 58.

[5] Keith Hiſt. App. 72 has publiſhed the bulls for erecting the new court of Seſſion 1532, and levying the ſalaries from the eccleſiaſtic revenues: for which purpoſe, or rather to ſecure the king's fidelity to the papal ſee, 10,000 ducats a year are granted. In an account of the Scotiſh courts of judicature, in the time of James VI, Cal. B. V, 266—273, it is ſtated that the judges all ſat at a long table, facing the door; the chancellor and preſident in the middle, facing whom were the clerks, and behind them the bar, where ſtood the advocates and parties. The author proceeds to ſay that there was no common law in Scotland; but the judges proceeded on *municipal* law, or the ſtatutes of parliament, and that failing, the civil law: yet there were ſome uſages, as ſucceſſion to lands, and the like, decided by *conſuetude*. When a ſenator died the king named three candidates, the ableſt of whom was ſelected by the judges. The court decided not *ſecundum rigorem juris*, but *ſecundum æquum et bonum*, thus reſembling the Engliſh court of chancery.

[6] Cap. 5. 34. Henryſon the poet, about 1500, mentions the crowner, his wand, and book of indictments, p. 113, Scot. Poems, Edin. 1770.

[7] 1535, c. 23.

pre-

pre-eminence; and by a ſtatute of 1491 no new forms are permitted, except the brief of *ſummonds of error*[8]. In 1504 we find that proceſſes were conducted before the ſheriff, "either by action of debt, or brieves:" and the act ordains that no ſheriff nor officer ſhall pretend to falſify juſtice by impoſitions on the ſucceſsful party, but that the expences be fixed at four pence each *act*[9]. The *taillie* is ſpecially mentioned only to infer a reſtriction from heirs general to heirs male: by their ſolemn acts of revocation, James IV in 1493, and his ſurvivor in 1537, annul all ſuch *taillies* of any lands in the kingdom: but the latter adds "againſt the law and good conſcience[1]." 1488—1542

Under the year 1537 Lindſay preſents an inſtance of the duel permitted in a caſe of accuſation of treaſon. The lairds of Drumlanrig and Hempsfield were the actors; the former being near-ſighted ſtruck at random, but broke his antagoniſt's ſword, upon which they were parted by the heralds. That writer adds that ſome other duels were alſo fought by men of the ſouth of Scotland, on accuſations of treaſon; but he paſſes them with obſcure brevity[2]. They were probably connected with the affair of lady Glamis, and the Douglaſes. Dempſter mentions that the duel was ſtill uſed, in caſes of treaſon, where there were no witneſſes but the accuſer, in his time 1623; and he ſpecifies one of 1598 between Francis Mowbray and an Italian[3].

The ſtate of tactics may be in great part diſcerned from the account of the battle of Flodden, the expeditions of John duke of Albany, and other ſmaller incidents and notices detailed in the hiſtorical narrative. In 1491 James IV enacted

[8] C. 24. [9] Cap. 67. [1] Cap. 51, 70. [2] Hiſt. 233, 234.

[3] In his notes to Accoltus de bello Hieroſolymitano, Florent. 1623, 4to, p. 273.

another

1488—1542 another ſtatute of ſome length concerning *weapon-ſchawings*, or diſplays of armour: it is ordered that they be made four times in the year; every gentleman worth ten pounds a year in land, or more, ſhall have baſnet, ſallat (or helm without a creſt,) *white-hat*, gorget or piſan, armour for the legs, ſword, ſpear, and dagger: thoſe of ſmaller incomes to arm accordingly. Yeomen to have bows and quivers, or an axe inſtead, with ſword, buckler, dagger, and ſpear: and burgeſſes in ſimilar array: all according to their property to wear white-armour, brigantines, or jacks, with ſplents and gauntlets of plate-armour. Foot-ball and golf are again prohibited, that due attention may be paid to archery [4].

James V in 1540 ordered that every *nobleman*, ſuch as earls, lords, knights, barons, and perſons exceeding one hundred pounds in yearly rent, ſhould uſe white, or plate, armour, light or heavy as they chuſe, and weapons becoming their rank; that thoſe of ſmaller income in the low-lands have a jack of plate, halbrik or brigantine, gorget or piſan with ſplents, knee-pans of mail, and gauntlets of plate or mail: that unlanded gentlemen and yeomen have jacks of plate, halbriks, ſplents, ſallat, or ſteel bonnet, with piſan, or gorget, and all to wear ſwords. No weapons are to be admitted at diſplays of armour, except ſpears, pikes of ſix elms in length, Leith axes, halbards, hand-bows and arrows, croſs-bows, culverins, and two-handed ſwords. Burgeſſes are to arm in the ſame proportions of their income: thoſe *worth one hundred pounds in goods* in white armour; thoſe under, but who may yearly ſpend ten pounds, like the yeomanry [5].

In the ſame parliament it was decreed that, conſidering the damage done to the grounds of the poor, by the multi-

[4] Cap. 31, 32. [5] Cap. 87.

titude

titude of horſemen advancing to the army, and the impedi- 1488—
ment they cauſed in battle, "where all muſt fight on foot," 1542
no horſes be allowed except thoſe for carriage; but that on arrival at the appointed place of meeting, the horſes be ſent back by a boy, and not by "a fencible man," or one capable of arms and ſelf-defence: penalty death. But the act extends not to earls, lords, barons, great-landed men, or others permitted by the king, or his lieutenant, to paſs on horſeback wherever the army moves [6].

A few culverins and hagbuts were the unwieldy fire-arms, then borne by the ſoldiers. But the artillery was of numerous deſcriptions, as the reader may have obſerved in the preceding books. A ſtatute of 1541 bears that, as the ſhot of guns, hagbuts, hand-bows, and other ſmall artillery then commonly uſed, is ſo prejudicial to the courage of noble and valiant men, who cannot manifeſt their proweſs except they have equal inſtruments, it is therefore ordained that every landed man have a *hagbut of founde*, called a *hagbut* of *crochert*, with their *calms*, bullets and *pellacs* of lead, or iron, and a proper quantity of powder, for every hundred pound of land in the new extent: and he that has but a hundred mark land ſhall have two culverins, while a forty pound land ſhall provide one culverin, with *calms*, lead, and powder: with treſtles to be ready at all times for ſhooting the hagbuts. And the perſons of property above ſpecified ſhall provide one man, or more, to fire the hagbuts, and culverins, and teach others. The act is extended to lords of regality, and clergy: and adds that the hagbuts and culverins ſhall remain at their caſtles, abbeys, or manſions, to be kept in due order by them and their ſucceſſors, for the defence of the realm. And as no eſtimate has yet been formed

[6] Cap. 86.

concerning

1488—1542 concerning the burghs, it is ordered that the magiſtrates immediately prepare correſponding regulations. Ladies of conjunct-fee, and life-rent, are to aſſiſt, in proportion to their revenues [7].

The next ſtatute ordains that merchants ſhall import hagbuts, or metal to make them, and powder, and *calms*, according to the value of their cargoes [8].

Of large artillery James IV had provided a noble train, among which Lindſay mentions the ſeven ſiſters, pieces of ſuperior ſize and exquiſite fabric, the work of Robert Borthwick maſter of the artillery, who inſcribed on his productions this rude line,

Machina ſum Scoto Borthwic fabricata Roberto [9].

The ſword, dagger, and turquoiſe ring, of that great prince paſſed to the duke of Norfolk, earl marſhal of England, after the battle of Flodden; and a deſcendant preſented them to the college of heralds, London, where they remain [1].

[7] Cap. 94. For the meaning of the obſcure words Groſe's hiſtory of the Engliſh army may be conſulted.

[8] Cap. 95. [9] Hiſt. 174. Leſley, 353.

[1] The ſword and dagger are engraved in Lamb's Flodden Field: their hilts have been plated with ſilver, being blades of battle not of ornament; the ſword is inſcribed on one ſide with the name of the maker *Maeſtro Domingo*; on the other with a Spaniſh device, being perhaps a toledo. The ring is only fit for the little finger of a man of middling perſon, and may be that which the queen of France ſent him from her own hand. The helmet may be ſeen in the noted print of the Arundel family, in which the ſword alſo appears.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Agriculture, Uſeful Arts.

THE chief intelligence concerning theſe important topics ſtill continues to be ſupplied by the ſtatutes. Among the acts beneficial to agriculture, may be enumerated that permitting the king to let all his lands in feu-farm, ſo that it be not in diminution of the rental, *graſſums*, or other duties, and with ſuch clauſes in the leaſes as may be judged proper, to remain to heirs in perpetuity; that puniſhing fraudulent ſales of land, *ex titulo oneroſo*, to ſtrangers, while the heir or ſome friend was in prior poſſeſſion; that for the plantation of woods, foreſts, and orchards, three acres of wood for every hundred pounds in the new extent of land; while tenants upon leaſe are to plant yearly for every mark-land one tree; the report againſt infringers to be yearly made to the ſheriff, at his head-court after eaſter [2]. A prior ſtatute had ordained all landed proprietors to form parks with deer, fiſh-ponds, rabbit-warrens, dove-cots, orchards, hedges; and to plant at leaſt one acre of wood, where there were no great woods nor foreſts [3]. All perſons having ſtuds of horſes are to keep proper mares, and ſtallions of a ſuperior ſize, in order to improve the breed [4]. 1488—1542

Among the prohibitory ſtatutes of a ſimilar tendency may be named, that ordering no multure to be extorted for flour arriving at Leith; and if adſtrictions to particular milns had alſo been aboliſhed the general advantage would have been

[2] 1504, c. 90, 1541, c. 105, 1535, c. 10. [3] 1504, c. 74.
[4] 1535, c. 19.

1488—1542 promoted; that regulating the rate of one boll in the *chalder* of bear for making malt, and compelling the malt-makers to obſerve proper hours of ſale; that againſt robbers of fiſh-ponds, dove-cots, orchards, gardens, bee-hives; and thoſe puniſhing injurers of wood, "as the wood of Scotland is utterly deſtroyed," burners of corn, and of heath at improper ſeaſons [5].

In a letter of 1514, lord Dacre mentioning the ravages committed by the Engliſh in Scotland, ſays that in an extent of twelve miles, along the river of Lid, there had been one hundred ploughs; in ſix miles along the Ludder forty ploughs [6]; no mean idea of the ſtate of agriculture in the ſouthern part of Scotland, though chiefly a paſtural country.

Concerning the uſeful arts the information continues equally meagre. In 1490 the fineneſs of gold and ſilver work was again regulated, and any fraud guarded againſt: the impoſitions of drapers, and dyers of cloth is branded, the former drawing or extending the cloth, and weakening it, in order to increaſe the meaſure; the latter uſing periſhable colours [7].

Sir Patrick Hamilton was in 1498 appointed governor of the caſtle of Blackneſs, with leave to build ſalt-pans. In 1527 John Drummond is ſtyled the king's carpenter, and ſervant: and, 1535, there is granted to the abbot of Holyrood-houſe, for repairing and maintaining the cauſway of the Canongate at Edinburgh, a duty of one penny upon every loaded cart, and a half-penny for each empty one [8].

Few of the corporations of trades in the town of Scotland are of more ancient date than 1470: that of the ſurgeons and

[5] 1493, c. 44, 1504, c. 92, 69, 71, 1541, c. 118, 1535, c. 11.

[6] Cotton lib. Cal. B. II, 155, 17th May.

[7] Cap. 13; 1541, c. 112.

[8] Scotſt. Cal. ſub datis. The claſſes of foreign artiſans imported by James V are before enumerated, under the year 1541.

barbers

barbers appears in 1505[9]. The goldſmiths cannot be traced as a fraternity till 1581; the ſkinners 1586; the furriers uncertain; the hammermen 1496; the carpenters and maſons 1475; the taylors uncertain: the bakers appear in 1522, the butchers before 1488, the cordiners 1475, the weavers 1476, the waukers or clothiers 1500, the bonnet makers 1530. What is called the golden charter of the city of Edinburgh was granted by James III, in 1482, from gratitude to the citizens for aſſiſting in his deliverance from captivity in the caſtle; among other privileges the magiſtrates are conſtituted perpetual ſheriffs within the burgh, and appurtenances[1]. 1488—1542

The *ſeal of cauſe*, or deed of incorporation of the hammermen, 12th April 1496, by the provoſt and baillies of Edinburgh, at the royal command, is a curious ſpecimen of the municipal regulations of the period. It includes black-ſmiths, goldſmiths, lorimers or bit-makers, ſadlers, cutlers, buckler-makers, armourers, pewterers; prohibits interlopers, and allows none to open ſhops but freemen of the burgh, examined by three maſters of the craft, and after paying forty ſhillings for the ſervice and ornaments of St. Eloi's altar; regulates apprentices; ordains two ſearchers to examine all the work every ſaturday afternoon; permits aſſemblies to deliberate on any infringement, and report to the magiſtrates; the penalty eight ſhillings for the uſe of the altar, where divine ſervice is to be repeated daily by the chaplain of the corporation[2].

[9] Their charter is printed in "An hiſtorical account of the blue blanket, or craftsmens banner," Edin. 1780, 8vo, whence it appears, p. 63, that a condemned criminal was allowed once a year for the ſtudy of anatomy.

[1] Ibid. paſſim. [2] Ib. p. 28. The magiſtrate ſtyled provoſt in ſome burghs, was denominated *alderman* at Air, ſo late as 1507. Scotſt. Cal.

SECTION IV.

Commerce, Money, Navigation.

1488—1542 In the firſt parliament of James IV, Oct. 1488, it was ordered that all ſhips, foreign or national, ſhould only arrive at the free burroughs, ſuch as Dunbarton, Irvin, Wigton, Kircudbright, Renfrew, and others; that no foreigners buy fiſh, except ſalted and barrelled; nor any other merchandiſe except at free burroughs, paying their duties and cuſtoms, and taking their coquets: any commerce at the iſle of Leuis is ſpecially forbidden; and no foreigners are to freight Scotiſh veſſels, nor the converſe [3]. The meaning of this ſtatute ſeems to have been to prevent contraband trade on the weſtern coaſt; the eaſtern being replete with free burghs here unmentioned. The prohibition of navigation between the days of All Saints, and Candlemas is reinforced. In 1493 it was enacted that, as foreign veſſels often eluded the cuſtoms, the maſters and merchants ſhould lodge in the chief ports; and their landlords be anſwerable for their conduct [4].

Some other regulations concerning commerce are repeated, and reinforced, by James V in 1535: when it was alſo ordered that no ſhip ſhould be freighted to Flanders, except twice in the year, to the eaſter market and to that on the day of finding the croſs, the third of May; an ordinance which only ſeems capriciouſly to fetter trade [5]. In 1542 redreſs was demanded from England for a ſhip of Aberdeen, worth 600*l.* Scotiſh

[3] Cap. 3. [4] 1490, c. 14, 1493, c. 41. [5] Cap. 31.

money

money in fiſh, cloth, and wool [6]. Many other illuſtrations of the ſtate of commerce appear in the hiſtorical narrative, and need not be here recapitulated. Perhaps the moſt advantageous was the produce of the piracy of the Bartons againſt the Portugueſe; and the blackamoor woman, a theme of Dunbar's poetry, was probably among the novelties imported by that armed traffic [7]. Salmon continued to be a conſiderable export; and three or four ſtatutes appear, during this period, concerning the capture of the fiſh, and ſize of the barrels. The exportation of tallow is rigorouſly forbidden; as the realm only furniſhed a ſufficient quantity for its own uſe, little fleſh being eaten by the poor [8]. 1488—1542

The Netherlands continued to be the chief ſeat of Scotiſh foreign trade: and we now find a Conſervator appointed, who is to judge all diſputes between the merchants of Scotland abroad, having ſix, or at the leaſt four, aſſeſſors on every cauſe. The Conſervator, or his attorney, is ordered to viſit Scotland once in the year, to anſwer any charges againſt him [9].

In Dunbar's poem of the Two married Women and the Widow, a woman of rank is introduced, who has wedded a merchant of opulence. She induces him to ſettle his houſes on her child; then gives ſcope to her extravagance, in gowns of ſilk, and ſcarlet cloth, golden chains, ruby rings, while her ſon is dreſſed like a little lord. On the death of her huſband ſhe is rich, and courted by barons and knights [1].

The ſtate of the Scotiſh coinage was greatly improved by James V; the gold in particular is of elegant form, and ſuperior workmanſhip, ſo as to vie with moſt coins in Europe of the time. His father had, in the parliament of 1488, ordered

[6] Epiſt. R. S. MS. Reg. 18 B. VI.
[7] Maitland Poems, I, 97.
[8] 1490, c. 95, &c. 1541, c. 123.
[9] 1504, c. 81, 82.
[1] Maitland Poems, I, 55, 58, 62.

a new

1488—1542 a new coinage both of gold and ſilver; Alexander Livingſton being the chief moneyer, and James Crichton of Ruthvendaun warden of the mint[2]. The importation of bullion by the merchants, in proportion to their cargoes, was reinforced by the ſame ſtatute. In 1541 it was ordered that no premium ſhould be taken for exchanging gold money againſt ſilver[3].

When Angus had the chief power, in the minority of James V, he iſſued a large groat, called the Douglas groat, if we believe Lindſay, which paſſed for eighteen pence Scotiſh, or four pence halfpenny Engliſh currency[4]. It has already been obſerved that, on the 25th Sept. 1527, Ivaizimus Heiztotter, a German, chief coiner to the king, was ordered to bring gold and ſilver from Germany to be coined; but the engraver of the mint was to be a Scotiſh artiſt[5].

The gold of James IV is only of one ſize: but of his ſucceſſor there are three denominations. The groat, and half-groat, are the only ſilver coins: the penny, half-penny, and farthing, being in billon, or copper mixed or waſhed with ſilver. Compared with the Engliſh the Scotiſh money continued as one to four. In 1489 a wedder ſold at *3s.* or *7s. 6d.* modern ſterling; an ox *15s.* or about two guineas. The ſalary of the fifteen ſenators of the college of juſtice, on its inſtitution 1532, was *1400l.* Scotiſh, or *350l.* Engliſh of the time, which multiplied by ten, for the increaſed plenty of money, yields *3500l.* modern currency. A pint of Bourdeaux wine *10d*, of Rochelle *8d*, imported by the eaſtern coaſt; that by the weſtern, a ſhorter paſſage, was two pence a pint cheaper: the Scotiſh pint quadruples that of England; and the wine was of courſe about a ſhilling a quart, modern Engliſh meaſure and currency. If by a general rule we multiply the prices in

[2] Cap. 2. [3] Cap. 99. [4] Hiſt. p. 206. [5] Scotſt. Cal.

Scotiſh

Scotiſh by three, during the reigns of James IV and V, we ſhall nearly attain the modern ſterling rate [6]. 1488—1542

Concerning the ſtate of navigation, and of the Scotiſh navy, ſo much information has appeared in the preceding books, that little can be added without an unneceſſary repetition.

Under James IV the Scotiſh navy had attained conſiderable eſtimation; nor was it neglected by his ſucceſſor. The ſtatutes for building ſhips and ſloops, for the fiſhery in the weſtern ſeas, were unhappily eluded; but ſeveral anecdotes, in the preceding pages, evince the maritime ſkill of the Scots at this period to have been reſpectable.

SECTION V.

Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory, Literature, Language.

THE eccleſiaſtic hiſtory of Scotland, as is well known, continues a barren field, till the reformation gave it a new character, and importance. But ſome illuſtrations of the ſtate of the clergy, and church, may not be unneceſſary.

It may be computed that about one half of the wealth of the kingdom was in the hands of the clergy; and few there were of the order who employed it better than the peers, or preferred to the fading pomp and luxury of the day, the eternal fame of literature, and the arts. But the benefices became of courſe, as the reader muſt before have obſerved, an object of great attention to the government and legiſlation. In 1488

[6] See Ruddiman Introd. ad Anderſoni Diplomata. From the Engliſh ſtatutes, (Pynſon 1497 folio,) it appears that, in the time of Henry VII, carpenters, &c. had 6*d.* a day, if meat 4*d.* in ſummer; in winter only 5*d.* and 3*d.*

the

1488—1542 the penal ſtatutes againſt the purchaſe of benefices, without the royal preſentation, were repeated. The right of election, as in the reign of James I, was in 1493 formally reſtored, and probably maintained by the piety of the fourth James: and the taxation of benefices at Rome was ordered to be only to the extent of the ancient roll of Bagimont [7]. In the following year, as the kingdom was impoveriſhed by the exportation of money to Rome by the clergy, the practice is forbidden, under the high penalties of rebellion and treaſon; and in the laſt parliament of James V, the ſame puniſhment is extended to all intruders upon biſhoprics, and abbacies, during a vacancy [8].

Dunbar, himſelf a clergyman deſirous of a benefice, ſeverely ſatirizes thoſe avaricious prieſts who crouded pluralities upon pluralities, enjoyed all the luxuries of this life, and left the poor to God's providence, and the ſpiritual comforts of a future exiſtence [9].

The church continued militant; and ſeveral eccleſiaſtics were ſlain at the battle of Flodden. The ſtatutes of James IV and V, concerning diſplays of armour, ſhew that the tenants of the church-lands had no exemption; and Mary was to ordain that, when a clergyman was ſlain in battle, or died in the camp, his neareſt relation ſhould have the benefice [1].

A more amiable occupation of the clergy was their preaching, in the common tongue, for the inſtruction of all ranks. Dunbar boaſts of having preached in the pulpit at Canterbury [2];

[7] Cap. 4, 38, 39. [8] 1494, c. 53. 1541, c. 125.

[9] Maitland Poems, I, 105. See alſo Lindſay's Papingo, where he execrates the beſtowing of benefices on the moſt worthleſs and impudent, bards and dice-players. For the numerous baſtards of the biſhops ſee the notes on Scot. Poems, Edin. 1770, p. 249, from the records. David Beton, natural ſon of the cardinal, received a grant of the lands of Baky, &c. March 1539. Scotſt. Cal.

[1] 1547, c. 4. [2] Scot. Poems, 1770, p. 26: he was then a preaching friar, afterwards a ſecular clergyman.

and

and his ladies attend *plays*, preachings, and pilgrimages, and 1488—
ſhew their dreſs in church and market; his wanton widow diſ- 1542
playing her chief artillery at church, though ſhe pretend to pore upon her bright miſſal illumined with gold [3]. Cavendiſh, the attendant of Wolſey, in his intereſting life of that proud cardinal ſays, "he cauſed one of his chaplains preach the word of God to the people [4]." In 1508 a Scotiſh doctor explained St. Paul's epiſtles at St. Paul's, as we learn from André de Tholouſe: and Dr. Weſt, the Engliſh embaſſador 1513, writes "when the *paſſion* was preached, and the ſermon done, the queen ſent for me [5]." Eight years before the reformation in Scotland, Mary was to impoſe high fines on thoſe that interrupted "divine ſervice, and preaching of the word of God [6];" a ſtatute probably levelled againſt the bold interruptions, given by the reformers to the catholic ſervice.

The preaching friars had been inſtituted in the thirteenth century, with the intention of reſtoring that duty, often neglected by the ſuperior clergy, and of oppoſing the popular preaching of the lolards; as the jeſuits were afterwards founded, in order to oppoſe learning to that of the proteſtants. In Italy itſelf Savonarola was to preſent forcible ſpecimens of the power of pulpit eloquence: and to forfeit his life in 1498 for his oppoſition to the papal abuſes [7].

[3] Maitland Poems, I, 47, 60. [4] Chapt. 18.
[5] Julius A. III. Jan. 1508. Cal. B. VI, 56. [6] 1552, c. 17.
[7] Lindſay in his Papingo, written in 1530, ſays

War nocht the preching of the beggyng freris,
Tynt war the faith amang the ſeculeris.

And he loudly blames the biſhops for not preaching, as their predeceſſors did. Robert Lindſay, hiſt. 155, repreſents Patrick Lindſay a clergyman, as making an eloquent ſpeech for lord David his brother, who exclaimed in ſurprize, "Verily brother, you have fine pyet words; I would not have trowed that you had ſuch words. By St. Mary you ſhall have the mains of Kirkforther for it."

1488—1542 The Franciſcan friars, of the ſevere order of Obſervantines, were highly favoured by James IV: and are often ridiculed by Dunbar, and other contemporary poets. Yet the king would, in lent eſpecially, become a mere brother of their convent at Stirling, which he founded in 1494[8].

Nor were the vices of the monks, and nuns, ſpared by Dunbar and Lindſay. The abbot has a concubine, and ſends his ſons to the ſchools at Paris; he cannot preach, but excells in playing at cards, dice, or tables: the prioreſs is clothed in a ſecular kirtle of ſilk, under her habit; and is little guilty of chaſtity[9]. The vicar's extortions are held out to execration, in the play of the latter author: and the *pardoner*, or vagabond who ſhews falſe reliques, and ſells pardons for all ſins, is treated with deſerved ridicule[1]. In the tale, called The Friars of Berwick, two are of decent manners, but a third is the adulterous paramour of a farmer's wife[2].

The progreſs of the reformed doctrine will appear from the hiſtorical narrative; but ſome minute events may here be ſtated. John Knox, whoſe chronology is far from accurate, ſays that in 1494, the ſixth of the reign of James IV, many perſons called Lolards of Kyle were ſummoned before the king in council, by Blackader archbiſhop of Glaſgow; among them were the Campbells of Ceſnock and Newmilns, Read of Barſkomming, Shaw of Polkemac, ladies Stairs and Pokelie, Helen and Iſabel Chalmers. He narrates the charges at length; and the articles are generally directed againſt the papal abuſes. The magnanimity of James treated the affair with due contempt, and it expired in a torrent of ridicule againſt the arch-

[8] Spott. Rel. Houſes, 276.
[9] Play, ut ſupra, p. 243, 250.
[1] Ibid. p. 64, 67, &c.
[2] Maitland Poems, I, 66, 70.

biſhop;

biſhop; Read, one of the accuſed, being a man of firm mind, and facetious repartee [3]. 1488—1542

Soon after the execution of Patrick Hamilton, in 1528, William Arithe, a friar at Dundee, ridiculed in his ſermons the vices of the eccleſiaſtics, and the abuſe of excommunication. The prieſt, ſaid he, whoſe duty is to pray for the people, will ſolemnly ariſe on ſunday and exclaim, "Anne has loſt her ſpindle; there is a flail ſtolen behind the barn; the good woman on the other ſide of the way has loſt a horn-ſpoon: God's curſe, and mine, I give to them that know of theſe goods, and reſtore them not [4]."

Among the learned reformers, who left Scotland in the reign of James V, Knox enumerates Alexander Allice, and John Fife, appointed profeſſors at Leipſic; doctor Macaby or Machabeus who retired to Coppenhagen [5]. The ſame writer mentions that, when James returned from his noted voyage to the iſles, July 1540, the clergy preſented a liſt of the proteſtant peers and chiefs, that he might puniſh them and ſeize their eſtates; but Kirkaldy of Grange remonſtrating againſt the malice of the eccleſiaſtics, the king diſmiſſed them with this ſtern reprimand, "Pack ye jugglers, get ye to your charges, and reform your own lives; be not inſtruments of diſcord between my nobility and me, or I vow to God I ſhall reform you; not as the king of Denmark by impriſonment, nor as he of England by hanging and beheading, but yet by moſt ſevere puniſhments, if ever ſuch motion proceed from you again [6]."

[3] Hiſt. of the Ref. p. 2, edit. London 1644, folio.

[4] Ibid. p. 17. Of William Arithe, and Alexander Alane, whoſe book on the Authority of the Word of God, was printed abroad in 1542, 12mo, little is known. Alexander Allice or Alæſius is more celebrated.

[5] Ibid. p. 21. [6] Ibid. p. 30.

1488—1542 The progreſs of literature during this period was conſiderable. Of the poems of ſir John Roſs, probably a prieſt, Stobo, and Quintin Shaw, mentioned by their contemporary Dunbar, few reliques have yet appeared. Dunbar himſelf flouriſhed in the reign of James IV, and minority of his ſucceſſor; and is deſervedly ſtyled the chief of the ancient Scotiſh poets, his language and imagery being wonderful for the time. Nor is Gawin Douglas, biſhop of Dunkeld, much inferior; the great merit of his tranſlation of Virgil yielding to the original productions of his genius. Kennedy flouriſhed about the year 1490; and Robert Henryſon compoſed his apologues about the year 1500. James Inglis, denominated *Sir*, becauſe he was a dignified prieſt, ſecretary to queen Margaret, and afterwards abbot of Culros, was ſlain in 1531, as mentioned in the hiſtorical department; and is celebrated by Lindſay for his ballads, farces, and plays. Kyd, Stewart, and another Stewart of Lorn, Galbreth, and Kinloch, are more known by the praiſe of ſir David Lindſay, than by the remains of their productions. Ballenden, in his tranſlation of Boyce's hiſtory, Edinburgh 1541, has given ſome tolerable poetry[7]. But ſir David Lindſay bears the palm in the latter part of the reign of James V, by his Teſtament of the Papingo or Parrot, the Dream, the Elegy on the death of queen Magdalen, his Complaint to the king, Anſwer to the king's ſatire, Complaint of Baſh the king's hound, Satire on long trains and veiled faces, Katie's confeſſion, Juſting of Watſon and Barbour, Hiſtory of ſquire Meldrum, and his Play or Satire on the Three Eſtates, firſt acted at Linlithgow in 1540, and afterwards at Edinburgh and Coupar in Fife in 1552. His Tragedy of Cardinal Beton,

[7] See the chronological liſt of the Scotiſh poets, in Vol. I of the Maitland poems, p. xcii—c.

1546,

1546, and his four books of the ancient monarchies belong to the enſuing minority of Mary [8]. 1552, 1488—1542

Among the writers in proſe John Mair was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed. He was born at North Berwick, ſtudied at Oxford and Paris; and became a profeſſor in the Sorbonne in 1509. In 1518 he was invited to his native country by James Beton archbiſhop of Glaſgow; and four years after followed him to St. Andrew's. He died about 1530, and probably about the eightieth year of his age. His hiſtory, though ſcholaſtic and meagre, yet revived that important ſtudy, after a long and fatal ſilence ſince the year 1437, when Bowar cloſed his labours [9].

The noted Hector Boyce, one of the moſt egregious hiſtorical impoſtors that ever appeared in any country, publiſhed his chaos of fables in 1527, ſix years after Major's work. But his lives of the biſhops of Aberdeen, 1522, 4to, form a more pleaſing ſpecimen of his abilities [1].

In a work indebted to his elegant epiſtles, Patrick Panter, ſecretary to James IV, muſt not be omitted. He was born at Montroſe about 1470, ſtudied at Paris; and gained the pre-

[8] There is a *ſtrena*, or latin poem on the aſſumption of the power by James V, either 1524, 26, or 28, 4 leaves 4to, printed by Thomas Davidſon, no date, mark two ſavages ſupporting an eſcutcheon, THOMAS DA. The date of printing is the ſole object of curioſity, the poetry being very poor.

Nam deſperatis languet peſſundata rebus
Scotia, quæ miſeros ducere viſa dies.
Factio, rupta fides, et pax ſimulata, tumultus;
Falſus amor, cædes, lata rapina, dolus.

[9] Elphinſton biſhop of Aberdeen, 1484—1514, only made collections, as appears from Boyce's own account in his lives of the biſhops of that ſee.

[1] Boyce having reſided long in France, affects to ſpell his name *Bois* in his autograph, (ſee pref. to Hearne's Fordun:) it is ſurprizing he did not latinize it *Sylvius*.

ferments

1488—1542 ferments of preceptor to Alexander Stuart natural ſon of James, and the abbacy of Cambuſkenneth. He died at Paris in 1519. By a ſingular fatality, David Panter, apparently his nephew, ſome time after ſucceeded to his office, and abilities; and to him we are indebted for the ſecond volume of the royal epiſtles. David Panter continued in favour after the death of James V: became biſhop of Roſs in 1545, and died in 1558[2].

Adam Abel, a Franciſcan friar of the convent of Obſervantines at Jedburgh, wrote at the requeſt of George fifth lord Seton, a hiſtory of Scotland in latin, called *Rota temporum*. The work commenced with a ſhort general hiſtory from the creation; and ended with the octave of the nativity of the virgin in the year 1535: and the author afterwards abridged it in Engliſh. Leſley biſhop of Roſs is ſaid to have uſed this work in his hiſtory, which indeed from the year 1500 breathes moſt genuine and minute information; and it is probable that Abel only extracted the preceding parts from Mair, and Boyce. But the loſs of the work is greatly to be regreted[3].

Ferrerius a learned foreigner, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his productions on Scotiſh hiſtory, it would be ungrateful to refuſe him a ſlight commemoration. He was born at *Cherium* in Piedmont, apparently Chieri near Turin, in 1502, went to Paris in 1525; where, in 1528, Robert Reid twenty-third abbot of Kinloſs, returning from his ordination at Rome, found him, and brought him to Scotland, where Ferrerius remained three years at court with his patron. But deſirous of returning to his ſtudies, the Piedmonteſe retired to Kinloſs; where he had been employed in inſtructing the monks for five

[2] Præf. ad Tom. I et II, Epiſt. Reg. Scot.

[3] Spottiſwood Rel. Houſes, end of Keith's Biſhops, p. 277. The Engliſh abridgment was loſt, when the mob ravaged the caſtle of Roſlin, at the Revolution. Sir George Mackenzie had an imperfect copy: ib.

years,

years, before he compoſed his hiſtory of that monaſtery in 1537: and eſpecially mentions a noble library, eſtabliſhed there by Reid, of which our author wrote a catalogue or deſcription. In 1539 Ferrerius viſited France, and publiſhed at Paris two ſhort latin treatiſes on the immortality of the ſoul, and the ſuperiority of the ſenſe of hearing to that of the ſight. Reid being appointed biſhop of the Orkneys, he again invited Ferrerius in 1540, who probably met the king there on his celebrated voyage of that year[4]. Five years after we find him occupied in his account of the family of Gordon. His ſupplement to Boyce appeared at Lauſanne, nominally Paris, 1575, and his dedication to James Beton, ſecond archbiſhop of Glaſgow of that name, is dated at Paris 1574, when he was in his ſeventy-third year; having probably retired from Scotland at the commencement of the reformation, after a reſidence of between twenty and thirty years. 1488—1542

The ſtatute concerning the education of the ſons of barons, and free-holders, ſeems not to extend to the ſons of peers, whoſe profeſſion was arms and hunting, and who were to glory in their ignorance, even at the period of Sadler's noted embaſſy. But ſchools now became frequent; Henryſon the poet is ſchoolmaſter of Dunfermlin, perhaps teacher of youth in the Benedictine convent there, about the year 1500. In 1534 we find Henry Henderſon, ſchoolmaſter of Edinburgh, accuſed of the proteſtant hereſy[5].

[4] Hiſt. monaſterii de Kinloſs, ordinis Ciſtercienſis, in Scotia, a Joanne Ferrerio Pedemontano, ejuſdem monaſterii monacho. Martene et Durand Theſ. Nov. Anecd. Paris 1717, 5 vols. folio, Tom. V. Among the additions by the author it is alſo mentioned that, in 1542, biſhop Reid and lord Erſkine were commiſſioners on the borders; and proceeding into England were detained, till Henry had arranged the frontiers for war.

[5] Knox, p. 22. Henry Henryſon, maſter of the high ſchool of Edinburgh, occurs in a charter of 1530. Scotſt. Cal.

In

1488—1542 In ſcholaſtic theology Mair, and ſome others, diſtinguiſhed themſelves. But hardly can a work on law, medicine, ethics, natural philoſophy, mathematics, be arranged among the Scotiſh literary ſtores of this period. The language may be ſufficiently eſtimated by pieces in the appendix to this volume, not to mention the numerous exquiſite poems known to every reader of taſte.

SECTION VI.

Ornamental Arts, Manners, Dreſs.

JAMES IV improved, or enlarged, the caſtles of Falkland and Stirling, and founded a monaſtery near the latter; but that prince ſhewed more attachment to his navy than to architecture, and chiefly encouraged the military arts. His ſucceſſor built a palace within the caſtle-walls of Stirling; and another at Linlithgow, in a more advantageous ſituation, than the ancient edifice which was demoliſhed [6]. This new palace was praiſed by Mary of Guiſe, as equal to thoſe of France; and from its remains, and thoſe of part of the royal reſidences at Falkland and Holyroodhouſe, the ſtate of architecture may be eſtimated. Reid biſhop of Orkney built the nave of the

[6] Robert Lindſay, 229. David Lindſay in his Papingo celebrates the palace of Snawdoun or Stirling, its lofty towers, chapel royal, park and *round table* or place of tourney: and that of Linlithgow, equal he ſays to any in France. In Sept. 1529 ſome lands were granted to ſir James Hamilton for building the palaces of Linlithgow and Stirling. In 1530 Peter Scrmigeour is "maſter of wark." Scotſt. Cal.

church

church at Beaulieu in 1540[7]; but few other eccleſiaſtic fabrics can be mentioned of this late epoch. 1488—1542

Gawin Douglas in his Palace of Honour, preſents, though in an ideal deſcription, ſome hints on the architecture of his time. His palace has many towers with battlements, and turrets, adorned with gilded vanes: pinnacles, *fyels*, winding ſtair-caſes; gilded *torres* or ſmall pillars; *ſkarſment*, *reprife*, *corbell*; *fullyery* borders on the buttreſſes, *jalms*, pillars, and arches[8].

From a ſurvey of the Engliſh borders, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII, it appears that the expence of building a tower was one hundred marks, of a barmekin two hundred; that to Cheviot foreſt, then filled with red-deer and roes, the Scots repaired often to ſteal the alder trees, that grew by the brooks, in order to build their hovels; and that even in Tynedale, on the northern Tyne, the houſe of the Engliſh chief was conſtructed of oaken beams, yet reputed a place of ſtrength[9].

Dunbar deſcribes a garden, as ſurrounded with a high hedge of hawthorn, and filled with various flowers; and the ladies ſit in an arbour, under a holly tree, the native ornament of the Scotiſh woods, amid the melody of ſinging birds[1]. George lord Seton, 1470—1507, at great expence fitted out a ſhip called the Aquila, againſt the pirates of Dunkirk; he was a learned man, and ſet ſongs to muſic; he built the collegiate church or chapel of Seton in 1493; and about the ſame time Winton-houſe, to which he added a garden, the wonder of the times, "erecting about the knots of flowers five ſcore *tores*

[7] Ferrer. hiſt. mon. de Kinloſs.

[8] Scotiſh Poems, 1792, Vol. I. p. 112. The *torre* ſeems from the latin *torus*, part of a pillar.

[9] Calig. B. VIII, 63—93. A curious paper.

[1] Maitland Poems, I, 44, 45.

1488—1542 of timber, of two cubits high, with two knops on their heads, the one above the other, each of them as great as a *rouch bouel*, overgilt with gold, and their ſhanks painted with diverſe oiled colours [2]." Seton, and Winton houſe now in ruins, are a few miles to the eaſt of Edinburgh, on the delicious ſouthern ſhore of the Forth, the Baiæ of Scotland.

Of painting at this period few memorials remain. A good portrait of Elphinſton biſhop of Aberdeen, 1484—1514, is preſerved in the univerſity there founded by him; and of James IV two curious portraits are extant [3]. Yet even of James V, and illuſtrious perſons of his reign, the portraits are uncommon, though ſome may lurk, neglected by a barbaric ignorance, and want of curioſity and taſte, equal in their effects to the ravages of time or ferocious inroad. It is almoſt unneceſſary to mention that no native painter is known to have preceded Jameſon in the ſeventeenth century; and that the artiſts who viſited Scotland were moſtly Flemings.

Douglas, in his poem above quoted, ſeems learned in muſic. He mentions *concords*, *reports*, *proportions duplat*, *triplat*, *diateſſerial*, *ſeſque altera*, and *decupla*, *diapaſon*; *faburdoun*, *prikſong*, *deſcant*, *counter*, *cant-organ*, *figuration*, *gemmel*. The inſtruments are ſhalms, clarions, *portatives*, monycords, organ, tympane or drum, cymbal; cythol, pſaltery [4].

In paſſing to the conſideration of the ſtate of manners, the court claims the firſt attention. That of James IV, if we truſt the ſatires of Dunbar, had no great pretenſions to refinement: and the age was indeed a ſtranger to elegance, or deli-

[2] Hiſtory of the Winton family by ſir Richard Maitland, written about 1560. MS. Harl. 6091.

[3] One is recently publiſhed in the Portraits of Illuſtrious Perſons of Scotland, Part II. Another is in the Hamilton apartments Holyroodhouſe. Pennant's Tour. [4] Scot. Poems, 1792, Vol. I, p. 73, 74.

cacy,

cacy, qualities ill compenſated by rude magnificence. Margaret the queen having ordered the poet a new doublet, James Doig keeper of her wardrobe refuſed to deliver it: a dance at court is deſcribed with circumſtances more ludicrous, than poliſhed, and Miſs Muſgrave an Engliſh lady is alone applauded: the venereal diſeaſe is repreſented as a common malady of the courtiers, and their frivolous occupations and pretenſions are ridiculed: the poet ſhews his claim to a benefice, and wiſhes that James were ruled by his queen's recommendations [s]. In the account of their marriage by John Young Somerſet herald, ſeveral curious particularities appear. When Margaret arrived at Newbottel, James, flying like a bird that ſeeks its prey, entered her chamber, and found her playing at cards: he entertained her by his own performance on the claricords and lute; and at his departure leaped on his horſe, a fair courſer, without putting his foot in the ſtirrup, and ſpurred on at full gallop, follow who might; but hearing that Surrey was behind, the king returned, and ſaluted the earl bare-headed. At another viſit the queen gave a ſpecimen of her ſkill in muſic, while James liſtened with bended knee: and on another he was attended by forty horſe while he himſelf rode a mule. When ſhe left Dalkeith the king met her half-way, mounted on a bay horſe, trapped with gold, he and the gentlemen in his train riding as if after a hare: and an exhibition of chivalry took place between ſir Patrick Hamilton and another knight, a lady attending one of them, and bearing his hunting horn, the other knight ſeized the damſel, and a conflict enſued till the king called *peace!* Of the pageants at Edinburgh one repreſented a *licorn* or unicorn, and a greyhound, ſupporting a thiſtle and a red roſe interlaced. At the nuptial 1488—1542

[s] Maitland Poems, I, 90, 94, 99, 102, 120.

1488—1542 dinner the firſt courſe was a boar's head gilt; but not in flames, as that at the wedding of James II. The tapeſtry of the chamber was figured with the Trojan ſtory; the windows of painted glaſs bore, in various compartments, the arms of England and Scotland, and a thiſtle and roſe interlaced under a crown. After ſupper and after dinner moralities were frequently acted, by John Inglis and his company; and the minſtrels diverſified the ſcene with muſic [6].

James IV was fond of alchymy; and an Italian adventurer, who pretended to the ſecret, was rewarded with the abbacy of Tungland in Galloway: the Italian not ſucceeding in the tranſmutation, by another eccentricity pretended, in the year 1507, to fly from the battlements of Stirling caſtle, on wings prepared of various feathers; and his fall, though he fractured his thigh, afforded a theme of great ridicule to the courtiers and poets [7]. Gawin Douglas repreſents the juglers, or necromancers of his time, as changing Flanders' peas into precious ſtones, a nutmeg into a monk, a pye into a church [8].

Robert Lindſay of Pittſcottie, deſcribing in his ſimple and lively colours the early eſtabliſhment of James V, mentions "treaſurer, comptroller, ſecretary, Mr. macer, Mr. houſehold, capper, carver, Mr. ſtabler, Mr. hunter, Mr. falconer, Mr. porter, and a fool, called John Mackilrie [9]." This monarch had a *fut-band*, or guard of infantry; but the ſoldiers are repreſented as cowardly braggadocios in the ſatiric page of

[6] Young's account. Lel. Coll. edit. 1774. Vol. IV, p. 258, ſeq.

[7] Leſl. 346. Dunbar's poems in lord Hailes's Coll. Edin. 1770. Moreſinus, author of the curious book called *Papatus*, Edin. 1594, 12mo, in another production *De Metallorum Cauſis*, Francof. 1593, 8vo, ſays that James ſacrificed large ſums to this Caglioſtro of the day. Ded. See p. 107, a high opinion expreſſed of the Scotiſh gold found at Crawford-muir.

[8] Palace of Honour, Sc. Poems, 1792, I, 123. [9] Hiſt. p. 204.

David

David Lindſay[1]. The wealth brought to his kingdom by Magdalen of France, enabled James to diſplay conſiderable magnificence: "ſuch ſubſtance was never ſeen in Scotland as this young queen brought into it, for there was never the like in no man's time in Scotland," ſays the old hiſtorian, who enumerates the liberal donations of Francis to the Scotiſh king and his bride: among which are ſhips, horſes, ſuits of exquiſite armour, cloths of gold, velvet, ſattin, damaſk, taffeties and other ſilks; tapeſtries, ornaments of precious ſtones, and chains of gold[2]. At her reception in Edinburgh the ſcaffolds for the pageants were painted with gold and azure; the fountains poured alternately water and wine; and the dreſſes of the allegorical perſonages were of ſingular beauty: the craftſmen appeared as archers clad in green, the burgeſſes in gowns of ſcarlet and *granit*; the lords of the ſeſſion, the barons, bannerets, and peers, all in their moſt ſolemn and gorgeous attire. Nor were muſicians of all kinds, heralds, and macers with ſilver rods, wanting to decorate the ſolemnity. The queen at length appeared attended by the chief ladies of Scotland: her dreſs dazzled the eye by the profuſion of jewels; and over her the principal citizens ſupported a canopy of cloth of gold; while their wives and daughters chanted ſongs of congratulation, often interrupted by ſhouts of *Vive la Reine!* The ſpeeches of the clergy and other orators, the coronation, tournaments, and banquets enlivened by the celebrated muſicians of the chapel-royal, were additions to that pomp, which was ſo ſoon to terminate in the grave[3].

1488—1542

The tournaments, and feats of chivalry, began to be ſomewhat on the decline, after the reign of James IV, whoſe ſplendid exhibitions of this kind are mentioned in the narra-

[1] Play, Sc. Poems, 1792, Vol. II. [2] Lindſay's hiſt. p. 247.
[3] David Lindſay, Elegy on the death of queen Magdalen.

tive

1488—1542 tive[4]. But hunting rather increaſed in eſtimation; and the grandeur of that of James V in Athole has been already deſcribed. An act of 1535 iſſues particular regulations for the royal foreſts, woods, and parks, the *Leges Foreſtarum* being often eluded; thoſe who claim hereditary offices or leaſes of the royal foreſts, are to produce the grants; and no horſe, cattle, nor ſheep, are to paſture within their bounds, on penalty of eſcheat[5]. Falconry was alſo a favourite purſuit of James IV and V; and the former monarch is depicted with a peregrine falcon on his fiſt. Lord Fleming was hunting with the hawk, when ſlain in 1524 by Tweedie of Drummelier[6]. Before James V executed the Armſtrongs he invited thoſe noblemen and gentlemen of the lowlands, and highlands, who had dogs of ſuperior breed, to a ſolemn hunting: the number of people aſſembled is eſtimated at twelve thouſand; and the prey in the eaſtern parts of Galloway at eighteen ſcore of harts, excluſive of ſmall game killed by the hawks[7].

The preachings, and pilgrimages, faſhionable reſorts of the time, were diverſified with the *plays* at various places, when perhaps *myſteries* were ſometimes exhibited by eccleſiaſtic actors. But *moralities* and *farces* now began to appear. The

[4] A great ſingularity of chivalry was the reverence ſtill paid to the imaginary *ſaint graal*, or precious plate out of which Chriſt and his apoſtles ate the laſt ſupper. See the hiſt. de Louis XII by Auton his hiſtoriographer. Paris, 1620, 4to.

[5] Cap. 12. An act of 1552 was to regulate the prices of game, the crane, then far from unknown in Scotland, (ſee Lindſ. hiſt. 227,) at 5s: ſwan 5s: wild gooſe 2s. *claik*, *quink* and *rute*, 18d. plover and ſmall muir fowl 4d. black cock and grey hen 6d. dozen of *pouts* 12d. *quhaip* 6d. rabbit 12d. *lapron* 2d. wood-cock 4d. dozen of larks 4d. ſnipe and quail 2d. The hen was at 8d. capon 12d. gooſe 16d. The acts of Mary and James VI continue to throw a ſtriking, but neglected, light on manners.

[6] Lindſay hiſt. 204. [7] Ibid. 225.

earlieſt

earlieſt French farce is L'Advocat Patelin, written about 1450, and no other is known till that of Le Prince des Sots 1511: about which latter period ſome appear in England. Lindſay the poet ſpeaks of his acting farces to James V, when a boy, or about 1520[8]. His own Play, 1540, is a mixture of the farce and the *morality*. 1488—1542

Stewart the poet, in an addreſs to James V, adviſes him to amuſe himſelf with hunting, hawking, and archery, juſting, and cheſs; and not to play at cards or dice except with his mother, or the chief lords, as it was a diſgrace for a prince to win from men of inferior ſtation, and his gains at any time ought to be given to his attendants[9]. Scandal was, as uſual, a favourite amuſement at court; and poems of Henryſon and Dunbar are directed againſt this verbal aſſaſſination[1].

[8] Epiſt. to the king prefixed to his Dream. Leſley, 375, mentions that when Albany arrived in May 1515, the citizens of Edinburgh welcomed him, "comœdiis facetiſſimis, ſpectaculis exquiſitis, ac rebus id genus ludicris." Among the few materials for the hiſtory of the Scotiſh ſtage may be mentioned, that in a life of St. Kentigern, inſcribed to Herbert biſhop of Glaſgow, 1147—1164, it is ſaid that the ſaint's mother had a lover "in *geſtis hyſtrionum* vocatur Ewen filius regis Ulien." Vitæ Sanct. Scotiæ, 203. Perhaps ſome hints on the myſteries, or eccleſiaſtic plays of the middle ages, may lurk in our chartularies, and other records.

One of the earlieſt dramatic writers was Hroſwitha, the celebrated German nun, about the year 980. In 1501 an edition of her poems was printed at Nurenberg in folio, 82 leaves, by the Celtic ſociety, at the head of which was Conradus Celtes, (the German tongue being then believed the Celtic;) which contains ſix comedies, *ad æmulationem Terentii*; 1. Gallicanus. 2. Dulcicius. 3. Callimachus. 4. Abraham. 5. Paffnucius. 6. Fides et Spes. Every comedy has a wooden print, the ſize of the page. This edition alſo contains eight poetical lives of ſaints, and her panegyrical hiſtory of the emperor Otho I, who died in 973.

[9] Scot. Poems, 1770, p. 146.

[1] Ib. 136, 60, 62. Dunbar mentions, on the occaſion, a ſaying of James IV, "Do well, and deſpiſe ſlander which ſpares none."

A ſingular

1488—1542 A ſingular letter of James IV is preſerved, written in 1506 to the king of Denmark. It mentions that Antony Gawino, an earl from little Egypt, and his attendants a miſerable train, had viſited Scotland, by the command of the apoſtolic ſee; where having reſided for ſome months, in a decent and catholic manner, he wiſhed to paſs to Denmark. James recommends him to his uncle's munificence; and adds that theſe wandering Egyptians muſt be better known to the Daniſh king than to himſelf, as Egypt is nearer to Denmark, and greater numbers of its people frequented that kingdom than Scotland. A curious ſpecimen of the ignorance of the age[2]!

That the manners of the times were not a little depraved may be learned from the tale of Dunbar, called The two married women and the widow, where the fair ſex in particular ſhew every vice of the moſt poliſhed ages, without the ſentiment and delicacy. And many incidents in this hiſtory will teſtify that the characters are far from ideal. That luxury and civilization increaſe the progreſs of vice, will appear problematic to the ſtudent of hiſtory; and at any rate they acknowledge the divinity of virtue, by a hypocritical homage to exterior decency, while in more rude ages crimes ſtalk about in naked deformity.

In his poetical life of Squire Meldrum, Lindſay repreſents his hero as ſupping at a lady's caſtle in Strathern, on veniſon, brawn, jelly, and comfitures; with *aqua vitæ* or brandy, wine,

[2] Epiſt. Reg. Scot. MS. Reg. 13 B. II. In 1555 Mary was to enact a ſtatute againſt the rural games of Robin Hood, Little John, Abbot of Unreaſon, and Queen of May; and againſt women dancing around *ſummer-trees*, or maypoles. The Queen of May is mentioned in the poem of James I called Peblis to the Play. Her ſtatute of 1552 againſt oaths by God's "blude, body, paſſion and wounds; Devil ſtick, cummer, gore, roiſt, or rieve them," ſhews the then prevalence of a ſtupid and diſguſting faſhion, now abandoned to banditti.

and

and ale; and the table is ſpread with a fine cloth of *dornick*[3]. 1488—
At this period we find *boſſis*, or bottles, that held half a gallon 1542
each of Gaſcon wine; the *bread of mane* ſeems to have been enriched with ſpices: after a meal the table, which was only ſupported on temporary treſtles, was *cloſed*, or laid againſt the wall[4]. The magnificence of grand entertainments may be judged of by the bills of fare which have reached our times[5].

The dreſs of this period remains alone to be deſcribed. James IV, on meeting his bride at Dalkeith in Auguſt 1503, was clothed in a jacket of crimſon velvet, bordered with cloth of gold; his *lewre*, apparently a kind of hood, hung behind his back; his beard was ſomewhat long, having in his haſte forgotten to clip it cloſe with ſcizzars. The viſit at Newbottel preſented him in a jacket of black velvet, bordered with crimſon velvet, furred with white; on another he was dreſſed in a gown of tawney velvet, furred with black, and the collar of his fine ſhirt was embroidered with gold: on another, in a demi-gown of black velvet, furred with martin, and the reſt of his apparel was alſo black. When he conveyed Margaret into Edinburgh, ſeated on horſeback behind him, he appeared in a jacket of cloth of gold, bordered with purple velvet furred with black, a doublet of violet ſatin, ſcarlet hoſe, the collar of his ſhirt ſtudded with precious ſtones and pearls, his ſpurs gilt and long. At the marriage he was dreſſed in a gown of white damaſk, figured with gold, and lined with ſarſnet, a jacket of crimſon ſatin, with ſleeves, and bordered with black velvet, under which was a doublet of cloth of gold, and his ſhirt was embroidered with gold thread; his hoſe ſcarlet, his bonnet black, with a rich balay or ruby, and a ſword. When he ap-

[3] Sc. Poems, 1792, Vol. I, p. 180.
[4] Friars of Berwick, Maitland Poems, I, 71, 73.
[5] See ſome in Arnot's hiſt. of Edinburgh.

1488—1542 peared at church, two days after, his beard had been cut cloſe with ſcizzars [6].

The dreſs of James V is ſimilar, except that the doublet is brought low, ſo as to ſhew a larger portion of the ſhirt; and the embroidered collar is transferred from the latter to the former [7].

To ſuch minute deſcriptions of the male dreſs little can be added. Lindſay mentions *brodikins*, or a kind of half-boots [8]: ruſſet hoſe, a ſhirt exquiſitely wrought with the needle, a little bonnet, a hat high or flat, perfumed gloves, *ſcarpens*, ſlippers, garters knotted in a roſe, a handkerchief with gold taſſels at the corners, are among the ornaments of a beau [9]. To the winter dreſs belonged a cloke and hood, double ſhoes, and mittens or worſted gloves [1].

Of the dreſs of a lady Henryſon gives an idea by mentioning, in a religious poem [2], the complete attire as conſiſting of

[6] Young's account, Leland Coll. ut ſupra.

[7] Portrait in the duke of Devonſhire's poſſeſſion, and others.

[8] Hiſt. 173. Boots were common. [9] Maitland Poems, II, 183, 184.

[1] Lindſay's Papingo. The hat is known as early as the reign of James I; but was generally worn only in the country, the velvet or ſatin bonnet being the formal dreſs, through all Europe: nor was it ſupplanted by the hat till about the year 1600. Granger I, 221, mentions a high hat with a broad brim, as occurring in a MS. of Henry the Seventh's time; after which he finds none till the days of Fox the martyrologiſt. Several poems of the period now under view, mention the hat as part of the Scotiſh female dreſs. A ſatire, Sc. P. 1770, p. 142, repreſents a ſervant wearing a cloke tied with ribbons, a thread-bare coat bordered with velvet, and girt about his waiſt like a woman's gown:

His hat on ſyd ſet up for ony heſt.

Douglas in his Palace of Honour, deſcribing the court of Venus, mentions among the materials of dreſs, cloth of gold, velvet, damaſk; ſatin crimſon, ſtriped, figured with flowers; *damisflure*, and others.

[2] Garment of gude ladyis. Sc. Poems, 1770, p. 103. Lindſay's hiſtory of ſquire Meldrum, 184, ſays of a lady,

With that her kirtill was unlaiſſit.

hood,

hood, ſhift, kirtle (or gown and petticoat) tied with laces, and adorned with mails or ſpangles, an upper gown or robe purfled and furred and adorned with ribbons, a belt, a mantle or cloke in bad weather, a hat, tippet, *patelet*, perhaps ſmall ruff, a ribbon about the neck, ſleeves, gloves, ſhoes and hoſe. The hair was long, and plaited on what was called a head-lace [3]. The farthingale, or ſmall hoop, and long trains ſweeping the ſtreets, the uſe of veils, which had continued ſince the reign of James II in defiance of the legiſlature, and the golden chains of the ladies, are frequent objects of ſatire. The veil when thrown backward reſembled a ſail in the wind, the boſom began to be more expoſed, the waiſt was rendered ſmall by tight lacing, while a buſk became neceſſary; and the gown of the belle was often raiſed in walking, not without coquetry to ſhew her hoſe of ſome wanton hue, while her mincing is likened by the old ſatiriſt to that of a bridled cat [4]. Dunbar's ladies have their yellow hair combed down over the ſhoulders with great nicety, kerchiefs of *criſſe*, crape or lawn, green mantles [5]: a damſel in the ſtory of Squire Meldrum has a kirtle of ſcarlet cloth, an enameled circlet of gold on her head, belt and broches adorned with ſilver, her ſhift embroidered with ſilk and gold [6]. The progreſs of luxury was far more rapid than that of induſtry. 1488—1542

[3] Robert Lindſay, 201.

[4] Maitland Poems, II, 184, 186. The Scotiſh farthingale, probably derived from the French or Flemings, became faſhionable in England, after the union of the crowns. Its effect may be ſeen in lady Dalhouſie's monument in the Savoy chapel.

[5] Ibid. I, 45. [6] Scotiſh Poems, 1792, Vol. I, p. 151

APPENDIX.

N° I. *The maſter of Huntley to Henry VII, perhaps* 1491. Caligula, B. III, 19.

RICHT hee, excellande, ande myćthy prince, I comende my ſervice one to yowr henez, in the maiſt humble and harty vys I cane. Ande pleſſit the ſamyne ramembir of the threſonable ande cruel ſlauthir of my ſoverane lorde and Kyng, falſly ſlayne be a part of his fals and untrew legis, the quhilk ſtude in neyr tendirneſs of blude and your heniz togiddir. And becaus of my lautay and allegeans, I haif put me in divours wicht my ſaid ſoverane lordis frendis, and kynnyſmen, to caus the comittars of the ſaide murthir to be punyſt acording to juſtice, and the honor of our Realme. For the quhilk I, and the layf of my lords ande fallowis, maiſt humili beſeks your grace to put to yowr hande, for the teynderneſs of blude that bes betuix my ſoverane lorde, quhom God aſolye, and yowr grace, and for the honor that every anoynted prince and Kyng ſoulde kepe tile vthers, in the punyſſyng of fals and treſonable trattours: and with Goddis grace, and yowr helpe, the matter ſalbe reullit to yowr gret honor, ande oure lautais. And forthir in all thir maters my lord of Buchquhane is informyt at lentht of al our ententts; and quhat he promittis in my name I ſal ſykkirly abyde therat: to quhom your grace wil gif ferme credens. The quhilke the Trinite preſerue and kepe, in honor and proſperite euerlaſting. At Edinburtht, the viii day off Januar, ſubſcriwit wicht my hande.

Yours at all pou-
-ar maſter of Huntli.

To the Kyngs grace
of Inglande.

N° II.

N° II. *John Ramſay of Balmain, ſtyling himſelf Lord Bothwell, to Henry VII, 8 Sept.* 1496. Veſpaſian, C XVI, f. 152.

SCHIR, I commend my ſerues humbly to your hightnes. And all this lang tyme I have remaint ondir reſpit and aſſurance, within the realm of Scotland, and maſt in the court about the King geve attendans, and making lauboris to do your grace the beſt ſerues I can: and has full oft tymes ſoliſt the Kings hightnes, and all the weill auiſit lordis of this Realme, to lef the fauour and ſupports tha geve to this fenyt boy, and ſtand in amyty and gud loue, and peax, with your hightnes. To the quhilk the King in his anſuirs and wordis ſayes alwayis he wald ereſt, ſa he myght have ſic things concludit as my Lord of Dureſme com for: and gyf that be nocht I onderſtand without dout this inſtant xv day of September, the King, with all the haill peple of his realm he can mak, wilbe at Ellam Kyrk, within x myll of the Marchis of England; and Perkin and his company with hym; the quhilk ar now in noumer xiiii c of all maner of acionis; and without queſtion has now concludit to enter within this your Realm, the xvii day of the ſam monecht, in the quarrel of this ſaid fenit boy, notvithſtanding it is agains the mynds of nerreſt the hall noumer of his barrons and peple, bath for the danger that thereof myght follow, and for the inconvenience of the ocaiſon. Notvithſtanding this ſempill woulfulnes can not be removit out of the Kings mynd, for na perſuaſion nor mean. I traſt verraly that God will he be punyſt, be your mean, for the cruell conſent of the mourdir of his fadyr.

Schir, the ſecund day of September the King ſend for his lords, that war nerreſt about hym, and cauſit tham to pas in the chambre of counſall; and thereafter callit Perkin to tham, and theie laid mony deſiris to him, bath anent the reſtorance of the vii ſherifdomis, the delivere of the Caſtell and town of Bervek, and alſo for the liſting of the Kyngs arme, and for charges maid uponn him, and his cumpany, to bind him to pay 1^c thouſand marks within v yers after his entre. To this aſkit he delay quhill the morne: and on the morn enterit he in the counſall, and touk with him Sir George Nevall, Lovud the preſt, and Herron; and after lang comonyng has bound him to deliver Bervek, and to pay for the coſts maid on him l. thouſand marks in tua yers: and thus is this takin up in vryting.

Alſa I paſt to Santandre with the King; and thar ſaw the raſſauyng of the Lord Conquerſalt: and I did ſa mekle that bath I red his letter and credence, the quhilks war ryght thankfully wrytten, bering in effect how the King of Franc oundirſtud that thar was ingenering a great

great appearance of Debat, betuix your hightnes and the King of Scotts, and how that he of conſideracion thar of had ſend the Lord Conquerſalt to oundirſtand the Kyngs mynd, and the occaſion of the ſamyn quhidder your grace, or the ſaid King of Scotts, war in the falt. And becauſe of the tenderneſs of blud, and alſo the tender amite, he ſtands in with you bath, he prayit the King that he might be an onper betuix you, to ſet you at concord; for he underſtud be your writings, ſend be Richmound and Gyenis, that mekell of this onkyndnes movit of the party of the King of Scotts. And efter this the King paſt to Counſall, and tuk the lord Conquerſalt, and ſheu how it was all movit on the party of England; and how he had loſt ſa mony ſhippis, ſa great herſhippis of Cattall on the bordors. And efter this the Lord Conquerſalt was bot right ſoft in the ſoliſtacion of this peax, and to myn appearance maid bot litill diligence herin, ſaying to my ſelff, efter I deſirit him to mak diligence, it was no wounder that the Kyng was ſterrit to onkyndnes.

Fordir I have ſought out of this ſaid Lord Conquerſalt, and ounderſtands werraly he has laid to the King to have this ſaid Perkin ſend in to France; and he ſall mak myance the King of Scotts ſall have for him One hundred thouſand cronis, and yet lauboris apone the ſamen: this I knaw for certan, to quhat pourpos I onderſtand not. Bot I wait well the Lord Conquerſalt ſhew me, the King of France vald not the King maryt with your grace; alſa he ſhew me how great inqueſtion was maid to onderſtand of Perkins byrtht, bath be the admirall and him; and than I ſhew him the writing I had of Meautes, and he plainly ſaid he never underſtud it, bot rather throu it the contrary. And I think his cummyn hadyr hes don bot litill gud; for he and the boye ar euery day in conſal. Schir, tho this be prevy, and tho he be my cuntreman, I beand your ſervand I vil bot ſheu the treucht; and fordir I ſall ſheu your grace of my cummyn.

Schir, I wrait how Sir George Nevill and his complices ware bonded before my Lord of Murray and me; and anon efter I gat your laſt writing to that effect, I eiſſayit the ſaid Sir George, and he anſuerit me, that he was inclinit to be at the commandement of the King of Scotts, and gyf your grace and he agreit he ſould tharin quyt him of Perkin; and now they ſtand in a new conſort, and thus I will not ſhew him your writing. Bot I dout not he, and all the remanent, will repent it; bot ſurly in the counſall he deſirit this Dyet ſould be put of quhill the next ſomer, and that, he ſaid me, was for the pleaſure of your grace; and I anſuerit him ye karit not for his pleaſure nor diſpleaſure.

Schir, And it be not that your grace pas in agremet with the King of Scotts, as me ſemes ye neid litill, and your grace underſtood all things, I dout not the young auventuruſnes of the King will bath jupert himſelf,

himſelf, the boy, and all his peple. And will your grace do apt of my ſempell auvertiſment, I dout not thar Journe ſalbe repenntit into Scotland this hundreth yer to come; and be God himſelf thar ſall be na he in England ſall mar willingly nor treuly help tharto; becauſe I find hym ſa fer out of reaſon, and ſa litill inclinit to gudnes, bot all to trauble and crueltie, vithout his wilbe fulfillit in all poincts; and war he ains weill ſnybbit, he wald be the better auiſit quhill he leuit.

S[r] King Edward had neuer fully the perfect love of his peple, quhill he had wer off Scotland; and he made ſa gud diligence and prouiſion tharin, that to thys our he is lovit: and your grace may als well, and hes als gud a tyme as he had; for I tak on me the King of Scotts had not a hundred pounds, quhill now that he has cunyet his chenys, his plat, and his copburds: and thar was never pepill wars content of the King's gubernans than they ar now. Notwithſtanding I have ben ſa lang and deſiruſly inclinit to the amyte, now ſeing the falt in the King of Scotts, I ſalbe als villing to do the contrar; and cumyt to a pruff thar vill mony be contrar his opunon. Thar is mony of his fadirs ſervants wald ſe a ramedy of the ded of his fadyr: yit pleaſe your grace to ſend me vourd quhat ſerves or other thing I ſall do, for I ſalbe redy to do your grace commandemente at my pouer; and now is cumyn within your Realm to await of your grace, or on quhom your grace will apoinct me. And I ſall not faill, be Godds grace, in this beſinis to do gud and exceptable ſerves, and thar ſalbe na prevé thing don, noudyr about the King, nor in his oſt, but your Grace ſall have ....., thereof; and that that is treu and on fruit, for I have ſtableſit ſic myans or I departit.

S[r] thar is coming out of Flanders Rodyk de Lalane, with tua litill Shippis, iii[xx] off Almans. I ſtud by quhen the King reſſauit him, in preſence of Perkin; and thus he ſaid in Franch S[r] I am cummyn her, according to my promyſe, to do your hightneſs ſerves, and for non oder mans ſaik am I come her; for and I had not had your Letters of warrant, I had ben arreſten in Flandrs, and put to great trouble for Perkin's ſak. And he com not ner Perkin; and than com Perkin to him; and he ſalut him, and aſkit how his ant did; ant he ſaid well: and he inquirit gyf he had ony letters fra her to him, and he ſad he durſt bring nane, bot he had to the King. And ſurly he has brought the King ſundry pleaſant things for the wer, bath for man and hors.

S[r] and your grace haue a gud army on the ſie ye might do a great act, for all the ſhipon and Inhabitants the Haven touns paſs with the King beland; and thus micht all thar Navy be deſtroyit and havinſtunis brynt.

I paſt in the Caſtell of Edinburght, and ſaw the proviſion of ordinance, the quhilk is bot letill that is to ſay ii great curtaldis, that war ſend out of France, x falconis or litill ſerpentinis, xxx cart gunis of

Irne

Irne with chaumeris, and xvi clos carts for ſpers, poudir ſtanis, and other ſtuff to ther gunis langin.

Schir, I dout na thing bot gyf thir folkis at thar entre, within iiii or v nyghts be ſo wery for watching, and for lak of wetallis, that tha ſall call on the King to raturne hame; and thus retarning tha ſhall not be foughtin withall: that it wald pleaſe your grace after thar entre in England, that the folkis of Northumberland and the Byſhhopreck raterit to the hed of Northumberland Weſtvart; and ſa com Norcht-vart, nought ſtreight apon the Scotts oſt, bot ſydlings, quhill thar war bath elyk norcht and ſoucht apon tham. And than I wald thir ſaid follkis fallin on thar bakks; and befor thame, to encounter tham, the pouer of Yorkſhir. And thus gyf thai oudyr reterit, or fled abak, tha myght not eſcap, bot be foughtin withall. For conſidering this lang night, and the great baggage and carrags, xx^{m} men war als ſufficient as i^{c} Thouſand: and thir folks behind tham wald put tham to a grettar affray than twys ſamony offor tham. S^{r} I have heard the diſputacionis of my cuntremen, and thar for I vryt this claus. Fordyr the holy trinite manten your honour, and eſtat in eternal felicite. Written at Berwek, the viii day of Septembre.

Y^{rs} humile Jhone
L. Bothvalle.

N° III. *The ſame to the ſame, Sept.* 1496. Veſpaſian C. XVI, p. 154.

PLEAISE your graice, anent the matter that maſter Wyot laid to me, I haue ben beſy about it; and my lord of Boughcan takis apone hym the fulfilling of it, gyf it be poſſible; and thinks beſt now in this lang nyght within his tent to enterpriſe the matter, for he has na wach bot the Kings apunctit to be about him; and they haue ordanit the Ingliſhmen and ſtrangers to be at an oder quartar lugit, bot a few about him. I put my lord your letter, of the quhilk he was full glaid, and weill contentit.

I paſt to Santandrs, and commonit at lenght with the King's broder, and gaff him the croſs bow. He comends his ſerues humly to your graice, and ſayes he intendis to do your grace ſeruis; and will not for oight the King can do cum to this oſt agains your graice. And now my lord of Murray paſſis our to him, gyff the King cummis to this Journay, as I dout nocht he vill, in contrair his barronis willis and all his haill peple; and my lord vill ſoliſt this young prince to cum to your graice.

Schir, I ondirſtand the xxviii day of Auguſt thar com a man out of Carlell to Perkin; and efter Perkin brought hym in to the King, I remanit to onderſtand the matter. I was informit ſecretly that this man ſould haue cumyn fra Randel of Dacre, broder to the Lord Dacre, and fra the Steltonis; for Mekyll Stelton, that I her, had the conwyanc of him.

Schir, ondoutetly thir Northumbirlandmen comonys ſthrevitly at dayis of meting, and at dayis ſecretly apoinctit betuix thàm and Scottſmen; and euery day throw tham thir vagabunds eſcapis cumyn to Perkin. And ſundry vrytings cumys. And now neulings an Hatfeld, that vas vonnt duell my lord of Oxinfurd, and he tellis mony tydings.

Schir, ſen it is that the King of Scotts will in no wyſe be inclinit to the gud of peax nor amyte, without he haf his mynd fulfillit, efter our laſt comonyng witth my Lord of Dureſme in Bervek, I traiſt verraly your graice ſall haue your intent, ſa your ſudgetts her endevor tham well. For ſurly this Jornay the King intends to mak is contrar the will of the haill pepill, and tha are not well apoinctit therfor; and will your grace ſend bot dovne chyſtains, and men of autorite, to reulle, I dout not with the foks that ar her your grace ſall haue the beſt day verk of your Inemys, that ony King of Englond had thys 1 hundred yers.

Schir,

Schir, I haue ſchevin the King of Scotts this band of the erle of Deschemonds, and he will ſcarſly beleue it; and now I ſend it to your grace again be this berar.

Yours humlle Jhone
L. Bothvalle.

N° IV. *James IV to the King of Denmark*, 1506. MS. Reg. 13 B II.

ILLUSTRISSIME, &c. Anthonius Gawino, ex parva Egypto comes, et cætera ejus comitatus, gens afflicta et miſeranda, dum Chriſtianam orbem peregrinationis ſtudio, Apoſtolicæ Sedis (ut refert) juſſu, ſuorum more peregrinans, fines noſtri regni dudum advenerat, atque in ſortis ſuæ, et miſeriarum hujus populi, refugium, nos pro humanitate imploraverat ut noſtros limites ſibi impune adire, res cunctas, et quam habet ſocietatem libere circumagere liceret. Impetrat facile quæ poſtulat miſerorum hominum dura fortuna. Ita aliquot menſes bene et catholice, (ſic accepimus,) hic verſatus, ad te, Rex et Avuncule, in Daciam tranſitum parat. Sed oceanum tranſmiſſurus noſtras literas exoravit, quibus celſitudinem tuam horum certiorem redderemus, ſimul et calamitatem ejus gentis Regiæ tuæ munificentiæ commendaremus. Ceterum errabundæ Egypti fata, moreſque, et genus, eo tibi quam nobis credimus notiora, quo Egyptus tuo regno vicinior, et major hujuſmodi hominum frequentia tuo diverſatur imperio. Illuſtriſſime, &c.

N° V. *Rude draft of a letter, Dr. Weſt the Engliſh embaſſador in Scotland to Henry VII, April* 1508. Caligula, B. VIII, f. 151.

PLEASYT your nobyll grace to vndyrſtand, that from the xxii day of March I remaynnyd in Berwyk, to the xxvii day of the ſeyd moneth, ther abydyng for my ſaſcondyt, for as myche as the Kyng of Scotts was ffer from Edyneyborowth at on place kallyd Wyttorn in Gallowey. And ſo kam to Edyneyborowth the xxviii day of that moneth, and ther remanyd to the ſecunde day of April, whereon that I myght, notwythſtandying the quenis gret labors, and my ſondye ſuete, came to the ſeyd Kyng of Scotts preſens; he was ſo gretly byſyd in ſcotting hewmys, and makyng guvn pouder: ſo then I was browt to the Kyngs preſens. And ſo from that day, onto the xth day of the ſeyd moneth, I was anys in the day wyth hym, in declaryng my credens, ſo that all tyme what for inconſtance I coude not well conſeyue, what report myght or ſhould be made to yowr moſt excellent wyſdam in that behalf.

Pleaſyt yowr nobyll grace to underſtand that, after yowr ryght herty and louing recomendacions, made to your good ſon, delyverance of your letters in dewe maner, and ſheuyng how lovyngly yowr grace was to here and vnderſtand of hys good fortunys in all hys works, to the increas of hys proſperite and honor; and that for the furtherans therof from tyme to tyme, as the caas ſhuld require, ye wold put to your hand of good hart of eyde and aſſyſtans. And what ampyll aliance, and bond of love and amyte ſhewe to hym and his iſſue, by the maryage, ſo latly takyn and made with the yong prince of Caſtyle. And that yowr grace hath put your ſylf to myche mere peyne, and charge, to obteyne the ſayd maryage and alyance, to the intent that he and hys yſſue ſhuld in tyme to kom be parteners ther of in as large wyſe as your hygnes and your iſſu. For thys your ſeyd good ſon thanketh yowr grace in hys moſt herty wyſe: accomptyng hym ſylf for the permyſſion to be ..... bound on to yowr grace, for myche as by the ſeyd maryage ye had ..... in love and amyte, and allyd to him all ſuche princes to hom he was nat ..... hertofor ſemblably allyed.

Secundly. When as I ſheuyd, accordyng to mye inſtruccions, that yowr ſeyd ſone wryt he had reſſeyued yowr letters, datyd at Hunworth the xiii day of January, conteynyng that contrary to the perpetuall peas, now beyng betwixt yowr grace and yowr ſaid ſon, dyuers and many

many of hys ſuggetts, ſome of them beyng gret perſonags and ſome of them in dyſymbylyd habyts, now latly, and alſo dyuers and ſundrey other tymis, hath paſſyd trowth your reame, without yowr lycens and ſaufconduyt, ſome of them alſo conveyng with them in ſecret maner the ambaſſadours of other princes, not beyng yowr friends. To thys yowr ſeyd good ſon, or that I myght be ſufferyd ferther to procede, ſent for yowr ſeyd letters, datyd at Hunworth the xiii day of January laſt paſſyd, interlynyd in all ſuche placs as the Copy of yowr ſeyd letter ys. In words of non importance yowr ſaid ſon ſtyketh: and alſo ſeyth theſe my fathers lettrs and yowr report agreyth nat. Theſe folowyng be the wery words of my fathers lettrs. " Dyuers and many " of yowr ſubiects, rygth gret perſonags, heretofore, and now of late, " contrary to the perpetuall peas and amyte, have nat only interryd " into thys owr reame, under couert maner, in abyts and aray dyſy- " myllyd, without owr lycens or ſauconduyte; but alſo hath often " paſſyd and retornyd trowth the ſame, conveyng with them in ſecret " maner ambaſſaders of certeyn princes, wych at that ſeaſon war nat " owr frends." My father wryt nat dyuers and many of my ſubgects, ſome of them beyng gret perſonags, and ſome of them in dyſſymbyllyd abyts, now lattly come: but dyuers and many of my ſubiects, rygth gret perſonags, heretofore and now of late, hath paſſyd throwth my fathers reame, under couert maner, in habyts and aray diſſymyllyd. And here alſa he demandyd what gret perſonages other than the archebyſshop of Saint Andrues, and the Erle of Aren, hath paſſyd hertofor throwt my fathers reame without hys lycens: and what other prince's ambaſſadors, nat beyng my fathers frends, than the Duke of Gelders, hath been conveyd in ſecret maner, accordyng to the termes of my fathers letter. On to thys hys douth I have accordyng to my inſtruccions, and power wyt, made anſwer convenyant: how beyt the ſeyd Kyng of Scotts lenyth ſo faſtly to his owne oppynyon, that herin in no wyſe I kan ſatyſfy hym. Wherfor I have ſent to yowr grace the copy of yowr ii letters, as well to make to hys demande more ampyll anſwer, as to perceyue how lygtly in words of no importance he ſtykyth.

And when I ſeyd yowr grace toke yt ſome what ſtrangly, and to hert, that yowr ſeyd good ſon ſhuld ſey he had takyn ſcathe by the concludyng of the ſeyd amyte, the .... cyrcumſtans gret dependents, and poſſybylytes that appeared ..... well regardyd and conſyderyd, yowr ſeyd good ſon anſweryd, ſeyng that as tovchyng his owne perſon, and the marchants of his reame they had gote therby no ſcathe, but honor, pleſure, ſwyfte riches, profygth and advantage. That notwithſtandyng dyuers of hys ſubiects, vnder the confidens of the ſeyd amyte, hath takyn gret ſcathe; wyche ſcathe he accomptyth nat in the loſſe of ther goods, but the ſlauthers of hys nobyll men eſpecyally of his warden ſlain at a day of trew: and that no redres kan be had therof,

for

or as myche as baſtard Heyron was fylyd of the ſeyd murder ys ufferyd to be within that yowr reame ondelyueryd. And ſuche ſcathys don thus to hys ſubgects he rekynygth to redovnde to hys owne perſon, ſeyng that they be always preſt and redy, at all tymys and ſeaſonys to dy and leve in hys rygthfvll ſervice.

And fynally in the matters of attemptats, and redres makyng for the ſame, wher as yowr grace thynkyth yt nat honorabyl, ne conevenyent, that princes ſhuld be beſy or intermeddle them ſylf in the redres of ſuche ſmall matters: and that yowr grace woll nat encontre your good ſon yowr ſylf nor ther wyth, but holly remyt all ſuche matters to ther wardens, with a ſtreyt charge to make redres and ryghte Juſtace; the King of Scotts ys ſemblably myndyd for his parte: how be yt he thynkyth that parte of yowr wardens be nat of ſtreyngth ne power to make convenyent redres. And wher as your Grace for ferther inſtruction of Juſtice hath comandyd the Lord Darcy to apoynt a day of mettyng, in all goodly haſt, with the Lord Home, yowr ſeyd ſone promyſyth your grace that thys may be done with effect. And that by your gret wyſdom at the ſaid metyng ther be made ſuch redres that here after no cauſe reſonabyll to wryt to yowr grace any ſuche thing, ffor in thys they wyll act accordyng to your commandment make redres, he ſhal aduertyſe yow ther off. And yowr ſaid Son thynkyth as yowr grace dothe that princes ſhuld nat ſo lygtly eſteme their amytes, that for meters of varyance betwyx ther ſubiects they ſhuld or mygth breke amytes, but redres to be made accordyngly; for lake wher of both yowr grace and he ſhuld then effectually put to yowr hands, nat reſortyng to the letters of marke, eſpecially in the kas of murders. For thow yt was thowth convenyent ſo to be don, at the fyrſt makyng of the ſeyd amyte, yet by exſperyens ſythence that tyme he ſe well that yf the ſubiects on eyther ſyd ſhuld reſorte to letters of marke, yt mygth be a gret occaſyon of the breche of the ſeyd amyte. And no thyng .... more. And ther for he thynkyth yt convenyent and reſonabyl, the princes be aduertyſyd, yf due redres be nat made. And they ſo aduertyſyd with owt fferther delay to ſe Juſtice executyd accordyngly. And truly in thys matters of attemptats, murders, roberys, and ſpoylis, and for any thyng that I have herd, or kan perceyue, yowr ſubiects hath iiii hurts agaynſt hys one. And ſo have I playnly ſeyd: wyche I dovt nat ſhal duly be prouyd, at ſuche tyme as yt ſhal fortune the ſeyd parties to mete. The lord Home, as I perceyved, ys ſumewhat abaſhyd in thys matter; nevertheleſs they be ſo proud hertyd that in no wyſe they woll confeſſe covardly ther errer. ..... yowr herm to wryt to the Kyng of Scotts, menying hym that thys ſeyd metyng may haue no effect accordyng to his pretendyd deſyre, ther errors ther by ſhal appere to ther conſuſyon and abayſhment.

Thyrdly, as towchyng the Erle of Aren; thys thyng that the Kyng of Scotts takyth gretly to hert, and all the gret men of hys reame;

reame; for thow ſo be the ſeyd Erle, contrary to the trete of perpetuall peax hath interyd in to yowr reame wythowt ſaufconduit, and for cauſes by me reherſyd deſervyd punyſſion; yet the Kyng of Scotts ſeyd that herin yowr grace hath delt very unkyndly, for as myche as the doyng of the Erle was contrary to hys mynde, and other wyſe than he commandyd hym. And yf ye had been hys loving father, ye ſhuld have ſent to hym, ſhewyng how the Erle had dyſſpleſyd yow, and myſorderyd hym ſylf to yowr hyghtneſs: and ſo doyng yf he had nat punyſſyd hym accordyngly, or any of hys ſubiects had affter that yowr wryttyng atemptyd any ſuche lyke thyng, that yowr grace maeth have had rygth god cauſe to have been myſcontentyd with yowr ſeyd good ſon. And when I ſhewyd that yowr grace was well contentyd the ſeyd Erle, opon hys hoth and ſeale to returne, ſhuld be at his liberte to kom to Scotlond, at hys pleſure or ells wher; to thys the Kyng of Scotts ſeyth that yf the Erle make any ſuche othe or ſeale to retorne, he ſal hang him at hys fyrſt entre into Scotlond. He ys contentyd that ye put hym to hys ranſom, or punyſhe hym at yowr pleſure otherwyſe; but now he wyl nat be content he make anye ſuche wrytyng or othe, for as mych as ſuch doyng ſhuld redounde to hys gret rebuk and dyſhonor. And alſo that wer contrary the trete of perpetuall peax; to hys dyſhonor, he ſeyth that ſhuld be, for by thys all other perſons ſhall thynke he hath fer myſorderyd hym ſylf, to do that thyng whiche ſhuld cauſe hys father thus to intret iiii kynnyſman. Thys punyſhment ys alſo contrary to the trete of perpetuall peax, for as myche as neyther of yow may punyſe any vnlefull attempts done to yow, but ever to aſk redres of the other. And alſo he kan nat ſe how he could, wyth owt hys aſſent, beyng hys ſubiect, retorne at yowr kallyng, ſeyng that none of his ſubiects may enter into yowr reame, withowt hys letters of recummendacion and yowr ſaufconduit. I kan nat by no menys induce hym to grant the ſeyd bonde and othe. Many of the nobyll men of this yowr ſonys reame thynkyth that the ſeyd Erle of Aren ys kept wyth yow by hys owne menys. I perceyue that he wold very gladly that the Erle ſhuld kom. Howbeyt he ys ſteff herttyd, that he wyll nat make interceſſyon for hys delyverance: how be yt my Lord of Murrey hath in the preſens of the Kyng prayed me to wryt to yowr grace.

The ambaſſador of Franche, wyche hath be long with yowr grace, the Kyng of Scotts ſeyth ſent hym word, that yf he wold wryt to hym, to dyſyre yowr grace to delyver the Erle of Aren, he dowt nat but that he ſhuld cauſe hym to be delyvered. The Kyng of Scotts wolbe rygth lothe that any ſtranger ſhulde be mene betwyx yowr grace or hym. In thys thyng reſtyth, as I perceyue, the weyt of all.

Sir Patrick Hamylton hath nat ben tru in hys report: he hath ſhewyd to the Quene that the Erle hath ben well intretyd; and the

contrary

contrary he hath ſhewyd to the Kyng his maſter: and that the Erle hath made no othe to retorne. The wyche reporte hath cauſyd the Kyng to think more unkyndnes.

FORTLY, as towchyng the ambaſſadors of the Duke of Gelders, the Kyng of Scotts ſeyth they wer nat conueyed throwth hys reame by his ſeruant; and that at ther retorne home he ſent them to yowr grace. And myche he meruelyth, yf yowr grace toke dyſſpleſure therwyth, why ye dyd nat, wythowt fether delay, wrytt to hym, aſſerteynyng hym to haue don amys. And nat only in thys, but in all other thyngs, wherin yow ſuppoſyd hym to haue don amys. And yowr grace thus doyng he ſhuld have cauſe to thynke ye had been hys louyng father. And yf at any tyme ye had thus don, yf then he had brokyn yowr commandment, ye ſhuld have had reſonabyll cauſe of diſſpleſure: and the Kyng of Scotts ſeyth, he wold nat have been miſcontentyd, yf yt had fortunyd yowr hygnes to have takyn them priſoners, and intretyd them as ther ..... delt with yowr ſubiects.

FYFTLY. As touchyng the renuyng of the olde lege betwyx Scotland and France ..... confederyng of other with the Kyng of Scotts to breke the forſeyd amyte, ... yowr ſeyd ſon ſeyth, that as long as ye be to hym louyng, kynd, and lyke hys god father, he ſhal neuyr breke wyth yow, nor renue the olde lege, nor do that thyng that ſhal or mygth dyſcontent yowr grace; but at all tymys redy to lev and dy with yow, agenſt all other, wer yt the Frenche, or any other. He eſtemyth yowr love and diſſpleſure mor than the loue or diſſpleſure of all other herthly princes. And that neyther fere, nor yet poſybylyte of ſucceſſyon, ſhal move or cauſe hym to kepe the amyte, but only loue and kyndnes on yowr parte, and his othe, ſeyth, and promyſe, to yow mad in that behalf. Yowr ſeyd ſone thynkyth alſo that ye tak hym nat as yowr ſone, nor yet truſtyth hym accordingly; and that yowr grace hath had myſtreſt, and uery ill reporte of hym, or ells ye wold neuyr have delt wyth hym ſo ſharpley as ye have don. Natwythſtandyng all thys, from hens ferth yf yowr grace be to hym as hys father, he ſhuld be to yow in all thyngs as yowr louing ſon. He was, at ..... komyng here, from thys poynt, and in ful mynde to renue the lege. And no ..... for all the holle body of Scotland, as well the comyns as the nobyll men, ſeyth boldly that the Kyng doth to them all expreſſe wrong yf he renue nat thys olde lege. And all hys, the byſhop of Murrey except, dayly kallyth apon hym for the ſame: ther be no more that ſtykyth in thys matter, but only the Kyng, the Quene, and the byſhop of Murrey. As he ſeyth ther was neuyr man wers welcom into Scotland than I; for as myche as they thynk I am kom for to let the renual of the lege betwix Scotland and France. They kepe ther matters ſo ſecret her, that the wyvys in the market knowyth euery cauſe of my comyng.

Myche of the kyndneſs that the Kyng of Scotts lokyth . . . . . ſtandyth, as neir as I kan perceyue, in the favorabyll delyvery of the Erle of Aren: thys ys the very thyng that ſhal cauſe hym nat to renew the lege. Fayn wold he have hym, how be yt hys ſo hede ſtrang, that in no wyſe he wylbe ſen owtwardly to deſyre the ſame. Sir Patrick hath made, as the quene ſheuyd to me, reporte that the Earl hath ben very yll intrettyd: you neuer ſee men ſo craftly handyll men to the . . . . Yf I ſhuld nat be here at the komyng of the Lord Daubeny, as yet he ys nat kom, the Kyng of Scotts wyllyd me to ſhew to yowr grace, that efter he hath perfygtly knowne the cauſe why the ſeyd Lord Daubeny komyth, ſtreyt ther opon the byſhop of Murrey ſhal kom to yow with report; wyche ſhal bryng to yowr grace a letter, wryttyn with the Kyngs owne hand, contenyng ſecrets wyche no man ſhal know, but he and your grace. Yt war well don, yf yt mygth pleaſe yowr grace to ſend to me inſtruccions, how the olde lege betwix Scotland and France may nat ſtand with the amyte, now beyng betwyx yowr grace and the Kyng of Scotts: and for what conſyderacions dyuers of hys counſell hath ben in converſacion with me, and ſeying that the ſeyd amytes may well ſtand together. (*blank*) and to do that wyche mygth retorne to yowr diſſpleſure, nat forſyng in maner what had kom of hym; how be yt yowr ſwet conſyderacions in that behalf hath wonderfly molyfyd hys hert.

Fynally, as to your perſonall mettyng, the Kyng of Scotts ſeyth that for hymſylf he ys very dyſyres of the ſame, albeyit his counſell is of contrary minde. And as for the place the Kyng of Scotts ſeyth he kan nat, wyth hys honor, mete yow at any other place than the borders, thynkyng that he may take convenyently aſſurnes of none other, but of yowr owne perſon. As yet I kan *.

* So cloſes this imperfect ſketch.

N° VI. *James IV to Henry VIII, 18th July, apparently* 1510. Caligula, B III, f. 138.

RICHT excellennt, richt hie, and michty prince, oure Derreſt Brother and Couſing, We commend Us unto yow in oure maiſt hartlie wiſe: praying yow to grant youre Letters of ſaufconduct in forme, as after followis contenit in this oure ſupplicatioun, to oure traiſt counſalouris, Williame erle of Eroll, Johnne prio' of Sanctandrews, George abbot of Halyrudehouſe, Maiſter Patrick Painter, owre Secretare, Maiſter Gawyne Dunbar Archidene of Sanctandrews, clerk of oure Rollis, and Maiſter Robert Forman, prothonotary, dene of Glaſgew, and chancelar of Morraye, ſauflie and ſurelie to cum within youre Realme of Ingland, conjunctlie or ſeveralie, with c. horſes and perſons, or within, their ſervitouris or otheris in their companny, Scottiſmen, Italiannis, or Frenchmen: and there to abyde, and depart out throuth the ſamyn, at their liberteis: and ſa to pas and repas, be ſey or be land, on horſs or on fute, with all maner of horſſes, ſtanit or unſtanit, mulis, mulatis, baggis, baggagis, coffars, boxis, bulgettis, malis, and fardalis, oppin and lokkit; gold, ſiluir, conyeit and unconyeit, letters cloſs and patent, and with all other thare neceſſaris, als oft as it ſall like thame without any ſerch, arreſt, or trouble, in thare perſons or gudis, at ony toun, port or paſſage of youre ſaid Realme, and for the ſpace of ane year to indure according to the treux. And gif ony ane of the ſaidis perſons happenis to do ony thing preiudiciale to yow, youre Realme, or liegis, contrar the tenor of youre ſaid ſaufconduct, that the treſpaſſoure be punyſt, eſtir the quantite of his offence. And the Remanent of the ſaidis perſonns, that faltis not, to enjois the hale effect of the ſaid ſaufconduct, and that the ſamyn ..... broken to thame; bot to remane in ſtrenth and vigor according to this our ſupplicatioun, as we ſal be glade to do, to youre ambaſſiatoris, or ſubditis in ſemblable manere, as knawis God. Quhay Richt excellennt, Richt hie, and michty prince, oure deareſt Brother and Couſing, haue yow in his proteccionn and governance. Writin under oure Signett at Edinburgh, the xviii day of July.

Yowr Brod:
James R:

N° VII. *The ſame to the ſame, 30th July, probably* 1511. Caligula, B VI, p. 20.

RICHT Excellennt, Richt hie, and mythty prince, oure Derreſt Bruther, and Couſing, We commend ws unto yow in oure maiſt hartlie wiſe. We traiſt it is nocht paſt youre remembraunce that the Reuerend fader in God, oure traiſt counſaloure and ambaſſiatoure, Androw biſchop of Murray, Commendatoure of Pettynweme, and Cottynghame in your Realme of Inglaund, has paſt diuerss tymes of before in legacionn and meſſage, in all grete materis that has bene laborit, tretit, and concludit, betuix vmquhile youre and oure derreſt fader, quhom God aſſolye, and Us; quhay we perfitelie knaw luffis the obſeruatioun of the perpetuall peax, and intertenyng of gude luſe and cherite betuix Us, oure Realmes, and liegis. And now we haue ſend him unto yow, for a final concluſionn, Reddreſs, and Reformacionn, to be had of all ruptionns and attemptatis, done on baith the bordouris, agains the nature of the perpetuall peax; and for gude Reule to be put thareuppon in tyme to cum. Praying yow herefore, derreſt bruthir and couſing, Richt effectuiſlie to giff unto oure ſaid ambaſſiatore and counſaloure ferme credence, as unto owre ſelf in propir perſonn, in it he ſchewis to yow, twiching the reformacionn of the ſaid attemptatis and ruptionns; as in vthir grete maters, quhilks we haue comandit him to diſcloſe and opin unto yow at his cummyng. Richt Excellennt, Richt hie, and mythty prince, oure derreſt Bruthir and Couſing, the bleſſit trinite haue yow in his haly proteccionn and governaunce. Writin under oure Signete, at oure Abbay of the haly croce beſide Edinburgh, the penult. day of Julij.

Yowr brod
James R.

Directed. To the Richt Excellennt, Richt hie, and mythty prince, oure derreſt bruthir and Couſing, the King of Inglaunde.

N° VIII. *Margaret queen of Scotland to her brother Henry VIII, 11th April* 1513. Caligula B VI, 74.

RICHT Excellennt, Richt hie, and michty Prince, oure derreſt and beſt belovit Brothir, we commend ws unto yow in oure maiſt hertlie wiſe. Youre Ambaſſadoure Doctoure Weſt deliverit ws youre lovyng lettres, in quhilkis ye ſchew ws that quhare ye harde of oure ſeiknes ye tuke grete hevynes. Derreſt brothir we ar greitly rejoſit that we ſe ye have reſpect to oure diſeſe, and tharfor we geve you oure hartlie thankis, and youre writing is to ws gude comfort. We cannocht beleve that, of youre mynd, or be youre command, we ar ſa freindly delt with in oure faderis legacy: quharof we wald nocht have ſpokyn, nor writing, had nocht the doctoure now ſpokyn to ws of the ſammyn in his credence. Oure huſband knawis it is withaldin for his ſaik, and will recompenſs ws ſa fer as the doctoure ſchew him. We ar eſchamet thairwith, and wald God nevir word had bene tharof: it is nocht worth ſic eſtimacion as is in youre diverſs lettres of the ſammyn. And we lak nathing; oure huſband is evir the langar the better to ws, as knawis God. Quha, richt excellennt, richt hie, and michty Prince, oure derreſt and beſt belovit brothir, have you in governaunce. Geven under oure Signete, at oure Palace of Linlithg^w the xi day of Aprile.

Yowr lowyng Syſter,
Margaret.

To the Richt Excellennt, richt hie, and michty Prince, oure derreſt and beſt belovit brothir, the King of Inglaund, &c.

N° IX.

N° IX. *James IV to Henry VIII, 24th May* 1513. Caligula, B VI, 67.

RICHT Excellennt, Richt hie, and michty Prince, our derreſt Brother and Couſing, We commend ws unto yow in oure maiſt hertlie maneir. Oure Brothir, the maiſt Criſtyn King of France, has laitlie written unto ws, that he and the Catholique King of Arragone have takyn, the firſt day of Aprile laſt bipaſt, treuxis to indure ane haill yeir fra the concluſionn thairof, for thair Realmes on this ſide the montanis; as we dout nocht ye ar informit, and have the tenour of the ſammyn lang or now. The copy quhairof, ſend unto ws, owre herrald the berare has with him. In quhilkis the Empriour, and ye, for the part of the King of Arragone; and for oure Brothir of Francis parte, the Duc of Gilder, and we, as his Kynniſmen; be expreſſit, geve ye and we likis to ſtand comprehendit at ane certane day, in the ſaid treuxis prefixit, as is contenit in thame. Quhairapon oure Brothir of France has deſirit ws to enter in the ſaid treuxis, geve ye enter in the ſammyn. Heirfore we have ſend unto yow, alſwell to have knaulage geve ye entir in thir treuxis or nocht, as to have youre aviſe quhat ye think we ſuld do for oure parte. Praying yow, geve ye accept the ſammyn, to advertiſe ws haiſtely, that we may help to trete ane forder amite and peax, as we have bene ay reddy to do, for univerſale peax in Criſtindome: and that we may cauſs oure traiſt counſalour and ambaſſadour, the Biſchop of Murray, now in the partis beyond ſey, do his uter beſines, the forſaid treuxis pendant, for univerſale peax, and expedicioun agains the Infidelis. And ſurlie, deareſt Brothir, we think mair loſe is to you of youre lait admirall, quha deceſſit to his grete honour and laude, than the avantage micht have bene of the vynnyng of all the Franche galeis, and thair equippage. The ſaidis umquhile vailyeant Knichtis ſervice, and utheris noblemen, that man on baith the ſidis apperently be periſt, geve weir continew, war bettir applyt apoun the Innemyis of Criſt, quhairintill all Criſtin men war wele warit. Praying you, deareſt Brothir, to take oure writingis in gude parte, as oure mynd is; for veraly we ar ſary, and als oure deereſt fallow, of this loſe, throu acquentance we had of his fader, that noble Knicht quha convoyt oure deereſt fallow the Qwene unto ws. It will like you to haiſt unto ws youre mynd heirintill, and will ſchaw you quhat we think of thir treuxis. Richt excellent, richt hie, and michty Prince, our deareſt Broder and couſing, the bleſit trinite have you in tuition.

Gevin

Gevin under our ſignete, at oure palace of Edinburgh, the xxiiii day of May.

Yowr brod
James R.

To the Richt excellennt, Richt hie,
and michty Prince, oure derreſt
Brothir and Couſing, the King of Inglaund, &c.

N° X. *Gazette of the battle of Flodden, Sept.* 1513. MS. Heralds College, London, marked 2d. M 16*.

ARTICLES envouez aux Maiſtres des Poſtes du Roy d'Angleterre, par ſon ſerviteur †, de la fourme et maniere de bataille, d'entre le Roy d'Eſcoſſe et Monſr le Conte de Surrey, lieuten. dud. ſr Roy d'Engleterre, a Brankſton le ixt jour de ſeptembre, lequel ſerviteur eſtoit a la d'bataille.

PREIMEREMENT, quant les deux armees eſtoient a lieue et demy, l'une de l'autre, le d'Conte de Surrey envoya Rouge Croix Pourſuivant devers le d' Roy d'Eſcoſſe, luy deſirant bataille; a quoy repondit qu'il l'atendroit la juſques au Venredi none. Le ſr de Haward, filz aiſné dud. Conte de Surrey, envyron l'heure de unze heures, le ixt jour, paſſa le pont de Tuiſſell, avant l'avantgarde et artillerie; et le d'Conte ſon pere le ſuyvit, et paſſa apres, avec l'arrieregarde; et la d.armee paſſee, myſdrent icelles en deux batailles, avec 11 Elles chūne bataille.

Item—a la bataille dud. Roy d'Eſcoſſe eſtoit diviſee en cinq batailles, et chūne bataille loing l'un de l'autre, environ unq traict d'arc; et toute cinq eſtoient advances ſur la bataille des Anglois, auſſi loinq l'une comme l'autre, en grant trouppeaulx; et partie deulx eſtoient en quadrans, et autres en maniere de pointe, et eſtoient ſur le haulte d'une montagne, bien a ung quart de myle du pied de la d'montagne.

Le ſeigneur de Haward fiſt arreſter ſubitement ſon avantgarde en une petite Vallee, juſques ad ce que l'arrieregarde feuſt joinct avec l'une des Elles de ſa bataille; a dont les deux marcherent tout en ung front, et eulx avanſans a l'encontre de l'armee des d.Eſcoſſois, leſquelz Eſcoſſois deſcendirent la d'montaigne en bonne ordre, en la maniere que marchent les Allemans, ſans parler, ne faire aucun bruit.

Les Contes de Huntley, Arrell, et Crafford, avec leur hoſte de viim hommes, vindrent ſur le ſr de Hawart; et en brief ilz tournerent le doz, et furent la plus grant partie deulx tuez.

Le Roy d'Eſcoſſe vint, avec une treſgrant puiſſance, ſur le d'Conte de Surrey; lequel Conte avoit a ſa main gauche le filz du ſr Darcy; et eulx deulx porterent tout le fes de ceſte bataille. A laquelle bataille le d'Roy d'Eſcoſſe fut tue dedens la longueur d'une lance du d. Conte de Surrey; et pluſieurs nobles gens y furent tuez, et nuls prins priſon-

* This curious paper did not occur till after the narrative was printed.
† Howard the Admiral? See the end.

niers

niers des Eſcoſſois dedens les deux batailles. Et a l'heure de la bataille les Contes de Lynouxe et Argille, avec leur puiſſance ſe joingnierent a l'encontre de meſſire Edouard Standley, et les d'Contes et leurs gens furent contrainctz deulx metre en fuyte.

Item—Edmond Haward, ſecond filz du Conte de Surrey, avoit avec luy mil hommes du pays de Lanqchere et Cheſhire, et pluſieurs autres gentilz hommes de la conté d'York. Et faiſoit le d'Edmond la droicte Elle du ſeigneur de Haward ſon frere, ſur leſquelz le ſeigneur Chambellan du Roy d'Eſcoſſe, avec pluſieurs autres ſ^rs donnerent dedens. Maiſtre Gray, et Meſ^r Humfrey, demourent priſonnirs, et Meſſire Richard Harbottell tué, et le d'Edmond Haward fut trois fois abatu; et vint a ſon relief le ſeigneur Dacres avec xv^c hommes; et tellement exploicta quil miſt eu fuyte les d'Eſcoſſois, et eut envyron * * des gens dud. ſeigneur Dacres tuez, et en la d^e bataille fut tue ung grant nombre des d'Eſcoſſois.

Item—la bataille et deſconfiture commenca environ de quatre a cinq heures apres diſner, et la chaſſe continua lieue et demye, ou fut merveilleuſement grant tuerie; et en euſt eu dix mil tuez davantage, ſi les Anglois euſſent eſte a cheval.

Item—les Eſcoſſois eſtoient envyron iiii^xx mille, et envyron dix mille d'eulx de tuez; et des Anglois au deſſoubs de quatreſcens.

Les ſouldiers ne prindrent pas ſeullement de quatre a cinq mille chevaulx des d'Eſcoſſois; mais les beufz qui tiroient leur artillerie; et apres vindrent a leur pavillons, et prindrent toutes les eſtouffes qui eſtoient dedens, et tuerent pluſieurs des Eſcoſſois qui les gardoient.

L'artillerie d'Eſcoſſe et d'Engleterre a eſte convoyee, par l'ayde dud. ſ^r Dacres, au chaſteau de Etal en Angleterre.

Le corps du Roy d'Eſcoſſe a eſte porté a Barwycke. Il ny a guere de grans perſonages du royaume d'Eſcoſſe retournez a l'oſtel, fors le Chambellan d'Eſcoſſe; et penſe l'on que peu d'eulx ſont demourez en vye:

Les nommes des nobles hom̃es d'Eſcoſſe qui eſtoient en la bataille avec le d' Roy d'Eſcoſſe, dequellz on ne oit point parlez quilz ſoient eſchappez, fors le ſeigneur Chambellan dud. feu Roy d'Eſcoſſe.

Premierement

Le Roy d'Eſcoſſe.	Le conte de Montros.
L'archeveſque de ſainct Andrew.	Le conte de Crafford.
L'eveſque des Iſles.	Le conte de Argyle.
L'eveſque de Ketnes.	Le conte de Lynnox.
L'abbe D'Ynchaffraye.	Le conte de Lancar*.
L'abbe de Kilwenny.	Le conte de Caſtells.
Le conte de Huntley.	Le conte de Morton.
Le conte de Ketnes.	Le conte de Bothwell.

* Glancarn. Huntley is a miſtake for Rothes.

Le conte de Arrell, conneſtable.
Le conte de Athell.
Le ſeigneur de Lowett.
Le ſeigneur de Forbes.
Monſ. de la Mote-francois.
Le Sr. de Elveſton.
Le Sr. de Inderby.
Le Sr. de Maxwell.
Le Sr. de Sainccler.
Illackeen.
Illac Chene.
Jehan de Grant.
Le Maiſtre de Angwys.
Le Sr. de Roos.
Le Sr. de Sempill.
Le Sr. de Borthwick.
Le Sr. de Aſkil.
Le ſecretaire du Roy d'Eſcoſſe.
Le Sr. Dawiſſy.
Meſſire Alexandre Setton.
Meſſire Guillē Scotte.
Meſſire Jehan Home.
Le Sr. de Colwyn.
Le Doyen de Glaſco.
Meſſire Davy Home.
Culbert Home de Faſtcaſtell.

et aultre, et par deſſus ceulx cy, par le rapport de pluſieurs gentilz hommes qui ſont priſonniers, il y a des meilleurs gentlz hommes tuez, et prins, en ung merveilleuſement grant nombre.

Le nombre de l'artillerie, que le Roy d'Eſcoſſe perdit a la journee de Brankſton, le ix[t] jour de Septembre.

Item—cinq groux courtaulx.
Item—deux colorynes.
Item—quatre ſacre de la meſme grandeur, qui eſtoient au devant du navyre appellé la Roze Gallee.
Item—ſix ſerpentynes plus grandes, et plus longues, que ſerpentyne que le Roy ñre Sr. a.

En tout la quantiti de xvii pieces.

Leſquelles ſont les plus cleres, et les plus neetes, et les myeulx faſſonees, et avec les moindres pertuys a la touche ou l'on met le feu, et les plus belles de leur grandeur et longueur que jai viz oncques; et les d'courtaulx ſont de fort bonne taille, et neetes. Signées au deſſoubs des choſes deſſus d' Thomas Sr. de Howard Admiral d'Angleterre, qui eſtoit a la d'bataille avec le conte de Surrey ſon pere, et menoit l'avantgarde.

N° XI. *Thomas Lord Dacre to the Council of England, 17th May* 1514. Caligula B II, 155.

PLEAS it your good lordſhips to haue in remembrance, that at Grenewiche, in the moneth of Decembre was two yeares, where as the King of Scotts, of his malicious and untrew purpoſſe, was aboutward to haif ſtollen the Town of Berwyke, My Lord Darcy wold not be Wardain of the Eſt and middell marchies, but upon unreſonable ſommes of money be hym deſyred. And for becauſe it was a momring tyme, not plainly determyned warr, but that they laye alwey in awayte of untrouthe, as is proved by the ſaid King of Scotts, I toke upon haunde to be Wardain of the Eſt and middill marchies, unto the ffeaſt of Eſtre then next enſueing; and furthir of the pes continewed at our Soueraine Lords pleaſure, as in thendentes therupon made more largely doth appere. At whiche tyme, in the Kyngs Inner chambre, I maide requeſt unto your Lordſhips, that yf any ſurmyſes were maide on me to the Kings grace, or you my lords of his moſt honorable counſaill, that noo credence ſhuld be taken therat, unto I had maide myn aunſuer, whiche your Lordſhips did fully promyſe me.

Now I am enformed that miſreporte is maide, and put in to the Kings grace, and . . . . . me ſpecifieing that, inaſmuche as I am wardainn of the Marchies, and has the hole authorite in my hands undre the Kings grace, the Scotts have and daily doth diſtres the Kings bordours, and ſubgietts, without any great hurte is done again unto them. And alſo that diuerſe metings has bene betwixt me and the Chamberlain, of which I have not advertiſed the Kings grace, nor you. And over that I make not ſo good eſpiall in Scotland as I might.

My Lords, ſens my beyng with the King's highnes at Windeſore, in Decembre laſt paſſed, I neyther tryſted ne mett the Chamberlain of Scotland, ſave oonys in ffebruary laſt, that I mett hym at Coklawe upon the middill marche, at the inſtant deſire of ſundry our Souveraine lords ſubgietts, for the ranſomyng and getting to liberte their kynneſmen and freynds, beyng preſoners, lyke as I certified the Kings grace by . . . . . as apperes in oone article emongs other in my lettre, dated at Morpathe in the moneth of Marche; the copie wherof my fellowe Doctor Conyers, this berer, ſhall ſhewe unto you. Aſſuring your Lordſhips that I had non othre meting with hym, ne with non othre Scot in Scotland, for non othre matier or cauſe, prevely or opinly, as I woll aunſwere the Kings grace, and you upon my lyf, launds, and goods. And as I ſhall prove at any ſeaſon afore the Kings highneſs

and you, my lords, when as ye woll commande me to com to your preſence.

My Lords, has for any intelligence, ſamuliarite, or kyndneſſe, that is betwyxt me and the Chamberlayn, truely I know non; for in the felde of Brankſton it fortuned that I, and my freynds beyng in my hooſe and companye, met the erle of Huntley, and the Chamberlain, and encountred to gidders. Where as Sir John Home, Sir Willm. Cokburne of Langton Knights, Cuthbert Home of Faſtcaſtell, the ſon and heir of Sir John Home, the ſon and heir of Sir William Cokburn, the Son and Heir of Sir David Home, the larde of Blacater, William Carr, and thre brethren of the Bromfelds, Gentilmen, with many othur kynnesfolks, freynds, and ſeruaunts, of the ſaid Chamberlain's, were ſlayne be me, and my folks; and my Broder Philip Dacre taken preſoner, with many other my kynnesfolk, ſeruants, and tennants, taken and ſlayne in the ſaid battel, as is well knowen.

And has for any intelligence had with any Scot in Scotland, I aſſure your Lordſhips of trouthe I haue non, as ſhalbe ſufficiently proved; for they love me worſt of any Ingliſhemian living, be reaſon that I ſande the body of the King of Scotts, ſlayne in the felde, and therof aduertiſed my lord of Norfolke be my writing; and therupon I brought the Corps to Berwyke, and deliuered it to my ſaid lord: at which tyme as I was intreated in my ſaid lord's preſence, be oone Langton of Berwyk, I reaporte me to his Lordſhip, and as yit it is nat punyſhed.

And where it is thought I make not ſoo good eſpiall in Scotland, as I might doo. My Lords I aſſure your Lordſhips, that I maide the beſt eſpiall at all tymes hiddertoward, and ſhall maike in tyme to com, that I oder can or may unfenydly, and neithre ſpare for coſt ne charge. And alway, as I gatt any certain matier worthy writing, I certified the Kings highneſſe, or you, by poſt in euery behalf at lienth, as apperes more largely by the copies of the ſame lettres, whiche my ſaid fellowe has to ſhewe your Lordſhips.

My lords, there is ſoo great brutilneſſe, mutabilite, and inſtableneſs, in the counſaill of Scotland, that truely noo man can or may truſt them, or there ſayngs and deviſes, without it be of things concluded and determined at a parliament ſeaſon, or generall counſaill of the Lords ſpirituall and temporall. Of whiche determined mynds and purpoſes, from tyme to tyme, as often as they have ſittin, and as fere as I couthe gitt knowlege be myn eſpies, or otherwiſe, I certified the Kings grace or you, as is aforewrittin.

To have daily acombred the Kings grace, or you, in ſending up writings be pooſtis of tryffills, and flieng tailes of noo certanty, like as I ſuppoſe other has done, to no litell coſt and charges of the Kings grace, I wold have bene loth to have done.

And

And as unto the diſtruccion of the King's bordours and ſubgietts, without any great hurte done again unto them, Right harde and impoſſible it is for ſuche a poure Baron as I am, to make reſiſtence and kepe the Kings ſubgietts and there goods in ſuretie, all along the Eſt, middill, and Weſt Marchies, againſt the hole power of the Realme of Scotland, without great help and aſſiſtance; where as in tymes paſſed the Duke of Glouceſtre, beyng a Kyngs Broder, and therll of Northumbrelond, with there great powers, couth not well kept them, but ever diſtroyed. And as my Lord of Norfolk and my Lord of Wincheſtre knowes that, in the laſt werr, when as they both laye upon the Eſt bordours, with the ayde and aſſiſtence of the hole marchies; what buſines and payne they toke on them, and had, I doubt not they can reaporte. And over that I doubt not but your Lordſhips remembreth, that at my ſaid beyng with you, I ſhewed you that I had no ſtrienth ne help of men, freynds, ne tennants, within the ſame Eſt Marchies, that wold ayde and aſſiſt me to ſerue the Kings grace; ffor aſmiche as Berwyke, Bamburghſhyre, and Dunſtaneburghe, with Sir Roger Grey power, is in my lord Darcy haunds and reull. Alnwyke and Werkworthe, belonging to my lord of Northumberland; Elandſhyre, Norhamſhire, and the Greys launds, belonging my Lord of Dureſme, and William Heron of Furde, now belonging to my lorde of Northumberlond, with all oder Gentilmeynys launds, and men, whiche lyes upon the ſaid Eſt Marchies, woll noder ryde ne goo, ne non of them doo ſeruice for me, ne at my commandment in the Kings name, and your's. The inhabitants whereof gyffs me the hole blame that the King's grace ſends down noo ſoldiours to the ſaid bordours; ne wages to them to make reſiſtence or invaſion, without whiche they ſaid to me they couth doo no ſervice, like as my writing purporteth. And like as I ſhewed your Lordſhips be mouthe, wages gevin to the inhabitants there were in manner waiſted and loſt.

And as to the deſtruccion of the ſame Eſt Marchies, ſens my ſaid beyng with hys highnes laſt, I aſſure your Lordſhips there is not iiii^{xx} howſis, and cotags burnt, which by eſtimacion exceds not the ſome and value of xl li. at the vttermoſt. At whiche tyme your Lordſhips ſhewed me that oder ſhuld my Lord Darcy come downe to be wardain of the ſaid Eſt Marchies with diligence, and defend the ſame, or els the Kings grace and you wold provide for ſom other perſon to come downe, and be wardain; for whom I loked, and daily lokes: and the moſt ſubſtance of the ſaid Matchies is ſawne to the frountours of the bordour.

And as unto the ſtate of the Weſt and Middill Marchies, beyng drye bordours from Bownes to Hangingſtane, conteignyng l. Myles in lienth, as the bordours goeth, where as euery perſon of horſbak or foote may ryde and enter at there pleaſures. I haue ſoo endeavored me during this warr tyme that there is litell harme done to oder of them,

them, neither in burnyng, ſpoling of goods, ne otherwiſe; but ar fully plenyſſhed to the verey bordour, in as large maner as ever they were the daies of my lyffe, both in houſing, ſawing, and paſture. And as yit there is not burnt xx howſys within both the ſame Marchies, as I woll aunſuer the King's grace and you. Whiche is a metely good bounds in lienth for ſiche a man as me to gouerne, reull, and kepe in ſauetie, during this warr tyme without any chargies of the Kings grace.

And for oone cattell taken by the Scotts, we have takyn, won, and brought away, out of Scotland cth; and for oone ſhepe, ccth of a ſuretie. And has for Townſhips and houſis, burnt in any of the ſaid Eſt, Middill, and Weſt Marchies, within my reull, fro the begynnyng of this warr unto this daye, aſwell when as the late King of Scotts laye in the ſame Eſt Marchies, as at all othre tymes, I aſſure your Lordſhips for trouthe that I have, and has cauſed to be, burnt and diſtroyed ſex tymes moo Townys and howſys, within the Weſt and Middill Marchies of Scotland, in the ſame ſeaſon then is done to us, as I may be truſted and as I ſhall evidently prove.

For the watter of Liddall, beyng xii myles of Lienth, within the Middill Marche of Scotland, whereupon was cth pleughes; the Watter of Ludder in the ſame Marchies, beyng vi myles of Lienth, wherupon was xl pleughes; The two Townys of Carlangriggs, with the demaynes of the ſame, wherupon was xl pleughes; The Watter of Ewſe beyng viii myles of Lienth in the ſaid Marchies, wherupon was vii^{xx} pleughes; The hede of the Watter of Tevyote, from Brankſholme up unto Ewſe Doores, within the ſame Marche, beyng viii myles in lienth, wherupon was iiij^{xx} pleughes; The Watter of Borthuike within the ſame Marche, beyng in lienth viii myles, that is to ſey from Borthwyke mouthe to Craikecroſſe, wherupon was cth pleughes; and the Watter of Ale fro Aſkrige to Elmartour in the ſaid Middilmarchies, wherupon was L. pleughes; lyes all, and euery of them, waiſt now, and noo corne ſawne upon none of the ſaid grounds. Whiche grounds is over and beſyde the great Rode that I made in the ſaid Middill marche, upon Martilmas day laſt paſt, the contents wherof I wrote to the Kings grace by pooſt.

And upon the Weſt Marchies of Scotland, I haif burnt and diſtroyed the townſhipps of Annand, Dronok, Dronokwod, Tordoff, Fyſhegewghe, Stokes, Eſtrige, Ryelande, Blawetwood, Foulſyke, Weſthill, Berghe, Rigge, Stapilton, Wodhall, Raynpatrike, Woddiſhill, Overbrotts, Nethirbrotts, Eliſtrige, Caluertſholme, Beltemmount, Hole, Kirkpatrike, Hyrdhill, Moſſeſyde, Stakehughe, Bromeholme, Walghopp, Walghopdale, Baggraye, Murtholme, Langhane, Grymeſley, and the Watter of Eſk, fro Stabulgorton downe to Cannonby, beyng vi myle in lienth. Where as there was, in all tymes paſſed, ccccth pleughes, and above; whiche er now clerely waiſted, and noo man duelling

duelling in any of them, at this daye; ſaue oonly in the Towrys of Annand, Stepill, and Walghopp. And ſoo I ſhall continewe my ſeruice with deligence, from tyme to tyme, to the moſt annoyſance of the Scotts; and neyther ſpare for laubor, paine, ne charge, to the vttermoſt of my litell power. Deſiring your Lordſhips that I may com to myn aunſuer, and furthir declaracion; and prove the premiſſes afore the Kings grace, and you. Whereinto I am and ſhalbe redy, when ſoo ever it ſhall like you to commande me. * * *

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At Kirkoſwald the xvii daye of May.

Yowrs redy att commandement,
Thomas L. Dacre.

To my ſinguler good lords, my Lord of Norfolk, my lord of Wincheſtre, my Lord of Dureſme, my lord of Lincolne, my Lord of Surrey; and other my Lords of the Kings moſt honorable Counſaill.

N° XII. *Gawin Douglas to Adam Williamſon*, 21 *January* 1515. Caligula B II, 291.

BROTHIR maſter Adam, I commend me hartly to you; and hes reſſauit yowr layt wrytyng and credens fra your companyon Syr James. And be ye ſuyr the Queyn, and we all, wald be glad to follow the Kyng's mind thar; and thanks hys henes als lawly as we may, of the grete enteyr luf and kyndnes, profirryt and ſhawyn to us, for the quhilks we beyng addettyt to be hys trew ſeruands befor all others, our allegans to owr ſouerain lord, his nevo, only exceppyt. Ye may weyll conſydder it is not to us poſſybyll, that ye devys; for albeyt my lord and I, with other frends, myght cum to tha parts quhan we pleſyt, it ſhuld not be poſſybyll to cary the Kyng nor his broder thyddyr; throcht peradventure, and that full hard, wyth gret defyculte, and nocht honeſtly, we mycht bryng the queyn thyddyr, in habyt onknawyn, and dyſagyſyt, bot neyn othir wayes. And therfor ther man be thought ſum othyr remedy, for my wyt kan not attayn quhow that may be at thys tyme. And als we be in na ſyk danger at we neyd leyf the cuntre. I wrat to yow layt that the Kyngs wrytyngs wald ſtanch all this debayt, ffor I traſt thai ſuld be als weyll obeyt heyr, as in Lundon, with the maſt parte of the lords. Lat not the Kyng ſpar ther foyr, that and he wald cum wyth his army, or ſend hys pyſſans in this realm, and declar to the pepyll his actyon war to haf juſtyce, and gud rewll, and to caus the Kyng hys nevo, and the queyn hys ſyſtyr be obeyt as thai autht; but cummand on thys wys, and notyfyand the ſamyn to our comonys, be proclamation, bot he ſuld fynd mony to tak hys part; for I aſſur yow the pepill of thys realm ar ſa oppreſſyt for lak of juſtice, by thevys, rubry, and othyr extortiones, that thai wald be glaid to leyf ondyr the Gret Turk to haf juſtyce. Ye wryt that the Kyngs grace thar hes wryttyn twys to Roym againſ Glaſgw; but I had leuer he had wrytyn agains the byſhop of Murray; and yit neidlyngs he man wryt againſt hym .... all hys promotion reuerſyt, lyk as at mayr lent the quenys grace hes wryttyn to the Kyng hyr brodyr tharapon. Maſter Adam brodyr, foryet not to ſolyſt and convoy weyll my promotion to Dunkelden, as ye luf me, for I haf gevyn the money quhar ye bad me. Lat ſe quhow ye kan convoy ſyk a mater for yowr frends; and I ſall do mekyll bot I ſall ſpek with yow in Lundon, or Paſh; for I haf mony devyſes that I wald fayn enclos to the Kyng thar, quhilks I wyll not wryte. And gif it be poſſybyll that ther may be found ony tyme to perform the Kyngs pleſure and deſyr,

as

as ye haf wrytyn with Sir James, I ſaldo my devor, and full beſt, to convoy that mater at all punctſ. Bot I kan not haſtely beleyf as yit quhow it may be leſs than the Kyng wald cum hymſelf in this Realm. And then myght he do quhat hym lykit; for he wald fynd lytyll nor na reſyſtance, and be the ſouerain. The gretteſt of owr aduerſareys crynis hym gretly at thys hour, on ſik wys that thai wald gyf mekyll of ther wakeand to haf hys fauors. Gif the Kyng of Frans be ded, it is ryght euyll for bath thir realmys. Bot heyr is arryvyt a Franch Ship, the xv day of thys moneth inſtant, quhilk purports na thyng therof; and therfor, I wondyr quha ſuld haf ſhawyn my Lords of Counſell thar ſyk tythyngs. Gif we had money I traſt we ſuld debayt weyll enewth our aduerſareys in thir parts, quhill the ſomyr ſeſſon, quhen the Kyng myght moyf quhat army hym lykit; and than I traſt alſſo we ſalbe mar pyſſant than we ar now. I am ſurly informyt furth of Frans the Duyk diſponys hym not hydder, quhill thys nyxt moyn; les than thys deces of the Kyng of Frans caus hym promyn the tyme. And yit I traſt the Kyng thar, and his wys counſell, hes provydyt mayr warle in all auentours, ſo that the Dalphyn is als weyll bund to obſerue the pace, and all punctſ therof, as was the Kyng. And I traſt he dar not brek the trewys nor pace aſtabliſyt, to ſend the ilk Duyk agayn hys oblyſyng. And gif he wald lat ilk frend mak pace wyth othyr, quhill we be all reuenged on Frans for God knawys quhat thai haf donn to us. I haf gud hope, and is in convoying a mater of dyſcord amang our party aduerſarey, on ſik wys that I traſt ye ſall heyr quhow this promocion, now impretat be yon dyſſatfull bysſhep of Murray, ſall turn to our weyll and caus bayt hym and yon Duyk cum in euill conſeyt ouer all thys realm; quhilk man aways redound to our profyte, and ſall purches us ma frends. And I dred not bot quhaſaeuer be Kyng in Frans he ſalbe mayr glad to haf pace and amite wyth the Kyng of Ingland, than hys grace ſalbe to except the ſamyn. I pray yow ſhaw thys wrytyng to my Lord Dacre, and the contents therof to the Kyngs grace. God keyp yow. With my hand in haſt at Perth, the xxi day of January.

Tuus totus Gavinus
Douglas.

To his traſt frend,
Maſter Adam Wyllyamſon.

N° XIII. *Alexander Lord Home to Dacre, 24th Auguſt 1515.* Caligula B II, 151.

MY Lord, I commend me to you in my maſt hartlie manner. Quham it ples to wyt that the lords has ſett apon the maters concernyng me ſen thar cumyng to Edinburgth, and thys Dwk wyll not be content with me be na way, bot giff I wald depart aut of Scottland without eny condycion. And he has grat the quhen's grace wryt to hyr brodyr, that ſhe is well content (and agan hyr wyll) and ſchow has ſend me word tharof thys fryday, and ſays that the man woll depart with thar wryt incontinent, and bad me ſend yow word tharof.

My Lord, thar is na remed for me bot gyff Ingland help now; and gyff ye woll [na] help in tym, quhill I ma help myſelf, it woll do me na gud. And quhat I may be ſeker of, I pray yow ſend me word incontinent with thys herar; for and ye brek not up the weyr, and in tym, I am lekly to be dyſtrowyt; ffor thai hayff given me fayr words, and all is bot to dyſſayff me. My Lord the Byſchop of Glaſqow belewis to met with yow the laſt day of thys moneeth, as is ſchawn me. And as your L. thinks in all maters, I pray ſpeid thys bearar to me. And God hayff yowr L. in his kippin. Wryt at the Newark, this fryday; and gyff I ſchall kep ſkaſt * thys day viii days, ſend me word.

Your's, Alexr. Hom.

Gyff euer yowr maſter wald
tak hys tym of Scottland,
now or never.

(*Indorſed*) Received by Thomas Lord Dacre on Setterday in the mornyng, the xxv day of Aug: by thands of Peter Raa, ſeruant to the Lord Home wythyn wryttyn.

* traſt?

N° XIV. *Margaret to Dacre*, 20 *Sept.* 1517. Caligula B I, f. 239.

MY Lorde Dakers, I comand me hartly to you; and vyt ye that I have reſſayved your vryteng fram Myhuel Nykowl and Cutbart Armeſtrang, and onderſtand it at length. And whare ye marwel, my Lorde, of my vryteng for George Home, and the Pryor of Coldyngam, I vaſe deſyrd to vryt to you, as I dyd ſchave you in my vryteng, and as thay thowt, and I dyd bot aſxe your conſell, yf it waſe beſte to doo, for thay coude have done me noo profet, and I belefyd ye vould have had them helpyt. And as long as Delabaty was lyſeng thay myght not have gotyn no favor here. And as towchyng to the pees, that vaſs concludyd at my comyng now into Scotland, betvxt the Kyng my brother and the Kyng my ſoon, tyll Saynttandroſs day next comyng, I knaw it vell: bot I traſtyd that it ſtode as I vaſſe intretyd into Scotland, and awnſuerd of my conjavſefment; for I thynke the dwke, nor the rawlme, ſchuld not have pees vyth the Kyng my Brother, and I be not vell intretyd: for it vyll not be hys honowr, conſideryng that I am hys ſyſter, and he made the vay now betwxt the Dwke and the Lordes, and me, and that I ſchuld be don to lyke hys ſyſter. Vhareof I have vryten to you at length, how I have bene aunſurde ſyn my comyng. And vhare ye vrit, my Lorde, of further comynekacyon of the pees, be the deſſyre and requeſt of the Frence Kyng; my Lorde, the Kyng my brother, and my Lorde Cardnall, both promyſed me that there ſchuld nowht be no pees betuxt Ingland and Scotland contynud, tyll that I knw it forſt, that I myght rather get thankes of the Lordes and the raume, than the Dwke; and that I vould not be ſet by ſoo myſche, and it var othervayſe; and that vaſe my ſpecyal truſte. And now Carter is comyn too Edynbroug, and ſayth that the pes is continuyd for two yerys, betwixt the Kyng my Brother and my ſoon; vhareof I pray you my Lorde that I may know the trowht, and the manor how it is; for all the Comfort that I have is in the Kyng my Brother, and in hys helpe. And as touchyng to my Lord of Awnguſs, that ye vould not that he toke a lyht vay wyth the Larde of Vedyrborne, vythowt there vare ſoom gret Lord that valde take hys part, ſoo that he and thay voulde take on hand to governe the rewme, and to have the kypen of the Kyng my ſoon; it is bot ſchort vhyle ſyn thys vaſe doon; and my Lorde and I have not ſpokyn bot wyth few frendes as yet, vharfor I kan not ſay no thyng, vhyle I know forther of thayr mynde. And as for my Lorde, he ſchal not take no parte, bot for to make good rewl in the contre, both he and hys frends, ſoo that thay wyl gyſe hym the

autoryte; for it muſte be a gret man that moſte do it, and I thynke there ſchuld not be non afoor hym, conſyryng I have maryd hym. And I knaw vell yf the Kyng my brother voulde make noo vay wyth the Duke, by me, and thai owr frendes myght be ſure of it, vee voulde be the gretar parte. Bot thay have ſoo gret dred that, and thay ſchulde take owr playn part, and than the Duke ſchuld be ſoferde to com agayn into Scotland, and than thay vyſt not vhare to have refuge. For and the Kyng my brother be not contentyd that he ſchuld com, the Frence Kyng dwrſte nowht ſende hym. And thys makyth me to lake mony hartys, that vould make me ſarves. All the helpe is in the begyneng; vhare for I pray you, my Lorde Dakers, to helpe to labor a good vay vyth the Kyng for me, that I may be ſure of, and my frendes; and I ſchall doo my part here to get frendes; prayeing you to ſend me your mynde agayn, that I may doo ther after. As for my wryteng to the Kyng my brother, I had no layſer yet to vryght it; bot I ſchal ſpede it to you agaynſt that I have awnſuer from you: prayeng you to ſend me a ſarvant of youre awne, that I may ſende my vryteng wyth: and God kyp you. At the Newerke, apon Saynt Mathes ewene.

Your frend
Margaret R.

To my Lorde Dakers.

N° XV. *The ſame to the ſame*, 11 *March*, 1522. Caligula B VI, f. 232.

MY Lord Dakare, I command me hartly to you: and vyt ye, that I have reſayved your vryteng, and ſene the artikles, and ondarſtandys them at length. Vyſche ar ryght ſcharpe, and ſpecyaly at the endyng of them, vharein, in a part, I have ſchawn my mynde at length to thys berar, be cauſe it var owr longe to vryt; bot in part I vol make you anſwar in this my vryteng.

My Lord, as to me to ſend to the King's Grace, my brothar, for my matars, befoor the takyng of the pees betwxt the Kyngs Grace my brothar, and thys rawlme, ane that my matars may be ſen for, and that I may be anſward and obayd of my lyfeng in that pownt, I ſhal ſend a ſarvand of myne declaryng the weryte, how I have bene intretyd ſen my laſt comyng into Scotland. Vyſche I have vryten of befoor at length to the King's Grace my brother, and to you; howbeyt I gat no remedy. And the laſt pees that vaſe takyn, vas done vythowt me, or ony way made for me; bot a general fayr vord, vyſche dyd me lytel profet. For thys raulme vol ſet lytel be me, gyſe thay may get the pees vythowt me, or my requeſt: vyſche it is more with the Kyng's Grace honowr to do it for my ſake, and at my reqweſt, conſyderyng I am modar to the Kyng of thys rawlme.

Allſo, my Lord, I com at the deſyre of the Kyng's Grace my brothar, ſent to me be frear Henry Jedward, viſche ſayd mony good vordys to me, on the Kyng my brothar commandment, and that thare ſchuld not no pees takyn bot at my reqweſt. And mare I com to my Lord of Angus, aigaynſt all the Lordys of Scotlandys vollys, traſtyng to have had helpe of the Kyng's Grace my brother, to have borne forth my good qwarele; for it vas owr nyche tame to ſtryſe agaynſs all the rawlme, conſyderyn how it ſtandys betwixt my Lord of Angus and the Lordys, and they not agreed.

My Lord, as to my Lord of Angus, gyf he had deſyrd my compány, or my loff, he vald have ſchawn hym moore kyndly than he hath don. For now of layt, whan I com to Edynbrowch to hym, he toke my howces vyth owt my conſent, and vythhaldyd my lyfeng fre me; vyſche he ſchuld not do of reſon: nor that is not the vay to deſyre my good vol. And I to have takyn both gret dyſpleſur of Scotland, and trobyl, and had no helpe of the Kyngs Grace my brother, nor no luf of my Lord of Angus, and he to take my lyfeng at hys pleſur, and dyſpon it, me thynke, my Lord, ye ſchuld not thynke thys reſonabyl, gyſe ye be my frynde, as I traſt ye be.

Mv

My Lord ye remembar, at my comyng to Edynbrow, I dyd vryt at length to you, how the Lordys of Scotland dyd to my Lord of Anguſs; and that vythowt I had gotyn helpe of the Kyngs Grace my Brother, I might not bere owt owr port; for on the on ſyde the Veſtland Lords and my Lord of Anguſs vas forth; and the tothar Lordys vaſs rycht ſcharpe apon hym. And I deſyrd to know vhat helpe I myght troſte to, and ye vrot to me agayn bot lychtly, that the Kyng my Brother vald do for me, in general vordis; bot it moſt be the dede that vyl helpe me.

My Lord, as to the tothar pownt, that I bere ſoo good mynde to the Dwke of Albany, as ye ſay; and that he gyfes me bot fayr wordys, to put the blame of hym, that I am not anſward of my lyffeng.

My Lord, as to that pounct, I beleffe not hys fayr vordys, bot as he hath don to me in dede; var not the kyndnes that he hath ſchawne to me, both of hys awne mwnne gyfen to me, and cauſyd the Lordys to furnych me of the redyeſt of the Kyng my ſoon's, I vold haf bene conſtrayned to haf put avay my Jowels, an Coburd; and thys I dyd vryt to you befoor. My Lord, I troſt the Kyng's Grace, my brothar, vol conſydar me as I that am hys ſyſtar: that I moſte bere good mynde vhare I ſynd good ded: for as I ſynd I moſt ſchaw. And I troſt hys Grace vol loſe hym the betar, that he doth for me. And I can not porſafe bot that the Dwke of Albany may doo the Kyng's Grace, my Brother, as moſche ſted in thys rawlme, and moore than ony othar: vyſche I knaw vel his Grace may have ony vay that he pleſys of hym.

Alſo, my Lord, vhare that ye ſpeke of the kypeng of the Kyng my ſoon, and that the Lordys that ar abowht hym is of the Dwkys putyng; my Lord, it is knawn contrary that the Lordys put them abowt the Kyng my ſoon. And I vayt viel thay loffe the Kyng my ſoon, as viell as ony in thys rawlme. And thay var put to hym or I com laſt in Scotland, as ye know. As for other pwntys, partanyng to the Duke, lat hym anſwar for hymſelfe: bot as for the Erldom of Marche, he makes me no trobyl as yet.

My Lord Dakars, ye ſchuld not gyfe ſo lychtly kreden to ewel talys of me, as ye doo, vhol ye knu the trowth, ſopos ye bere gret favor to my Lord of Anguſs, as I ſe ye doo; howbeit I have ſene it alſs far otharvays. I moſt caſt me to ples thys rawlme, ſen I have my lyfeng here, and few fryndys but throw my good beryng. Vharefor thay ſchal have no cauſe of reſon to holde my lyfeng fra me: and I thynke the Kyng's Grace ſchuld helpe me the betor. Alſo whare ye ſay that I com owt of Edynbrow, in the nyght; that vas not: for all the Lordys knu of my comyng avay; and I ſaw no good for me to byde apon thare.

And

And vhare ye ſay that I am rewlyd be the cownſel, that vol never do me good, nor honowr; my Lord, I dyd never dyſhonor to myſelf, nor them that I am com of: nor me thynke ye ſchuld not kyſe credens to that of me, both for the Kyng's Grace my brother's ſake, and the Kyng my father, who ſowl God pardon. And I have made you betar cauſe, nor my Lord of Anguſs hath don, or ony of hys. Bot I knaw vel the Byſchope of Dwnkeld conſel, vhen he vaſs vyth yow now latly; viſche hath cauſyd you to vryt ſo ſcharply.

And as towchyng to Syr James Hamylton, I myght not lat hym to ryd on the vay; bot he convoyd me not. It waſs othar Lordys that browght me to Lytgo, as hys known.

My Lord, allſo ye vryt ryght ſcharply to me, in your laſt Artykel, ſayeng that I do dyſhonor to myſelfe, that bydyth from my Lord of Anguſs; and that I folow them that vol be my diſtrokcyon, and can not ſtand vyth the pleſur of the Kyng's Grace my Brothar; and that I may not loke for ony fawor at the Kyng's Grace my Brothars hand, for it is thowt that I am ſair abuſyd, oundar collour of fayr promyſſes, vyſche ſchuld bryng me to the dyſpleſur of God, and my dysſhonor, and ondoyng, at length.

My Lord, thys is ſoor vordys, and onkyndly. If thys be the Kyng my Brothars mynde, I being hys ſyſtar, that ewel and falſſe folke ſchal make ſyche raport of me, and ſo lyghtly kredence to be gyſſen to the ſam, it is ryght heffy to me; and I may thynke it ſtrancge that my Lord of Anguſs may make the Kyng my Brothar ſo dyſpleſyd at me, wythout ony fawt makyng, as ſchal be viel known. Vharefor it is no marwel ſopos othars be onkyndly, conſyderyng that I toke my Lord of Anguſs, agaynſt all Scotland's vyl, and dod hym the honowr that I coud: vhare throw I losſt the kypeng of my ſoone, my hows of Styrlyng, my rewl of the rawlm, vyſche I had be ryght, that myght not have bene takyn from me: and all thys for hys ſake. And now hymſelfe hath ſchawne hym as onkyndly to me as is poſybyl, vyſche all the rawlme knaws; haldyn my lyfeng from me, as far as he may: and abof all thyng he ſpake opynly dyſhonor of me, wyſche is no tokyn of loſe; and I dyd nothar dyſpleſur, nor dyſhonor, to hym, as is viel kend.

My Lord, thys not a good vay that ſuld cauſe me to com to my Lord of Anguſs; ſen I toke hym at myne awne pleſur, I vol not be boſtyd to take hym now. And thus I moſte do the beſt I may to get my fryndes, ſen hys Grace, that I trosſtyd moſt in, may be put by me, vythowt faut; vyſche I ſchal never make to hys Grace, as I ſchal vryt at length to hym vyth a ſarvand of myne.

My Lord, I vold have troſtyd that ye vold erar have helpyd me at the Kyng's Grace my brother's hand, than to have hyndard me. Ye

moſt

moſt hold me excuſyd that I vryt ſo playnly, for ye have vryten ſcharply to me. Ne mare at thys tyme; bot God kype you. Vryten at Styrlyn, the xi day of March.

Your Frynd,
Margaret R.

N° XVI.

N° XVI. *Engagement by the Lords to the Queen, 30 July, 1524.* * Caligula, B VI, 378.

Apud Edinburgh, penultimo Julij, anno Domini Millīmo, quin.^me^ xxiiii.

WE Lords underwrittin, underſtandand the departing and cumin of our Soveraine the Kyng's Grace, furth of Striveling to Edinburgh, is for the gud and weil of his maiſt noble perſon, and comoun weil of his realme; q^lk^ we grant, ratifie, and affirmis. And therfore, be thir preſents, fayth, and treucht, in our bodeis obliſh ws, and ilkane of ws, that we ſall, in all tymes cumin, be leil, trew, and obedient ſervands to our ſaid ſoveraine Lord: and ſal tak his afald plane defenſe, and ſubſtanciale part, agains all utheris, with our kyne frends, parttakars, and ſubſtance, at our utmoſt power, in all our ſaid ſoveraune Lord's actions, and cauſſes: and in ſpecialle in uſing of his auctorite be himſelf, and utheris in his name to be deput therto, in tyme cumin. And that notwithſtanding ony promiſes, or bands, maid be ws, or ony of ws, to John Duk of Albanye, or ony utheris in the contrair. Quhilks all and ſindry bands, and promitts, and in ſpeciale maid to the ſaid Duk, be thir preſentis, for certane reſnable conſiderations moving wſwad of our ſaid ſoveraine Lord, and commonweale forſaid, we reuok, caſs, and adnullis, for now and ever. And preſentlie we revok, caſs, and adnullis all power, auctorite, and governance, of the ſaid John Duk of Albanye; ſwa that notwithſtanding the ſemmyn, our ſaide ſoverane Lord may uſe his awne autorite, and haif fre adminſtration therof in all tymes cumin, as ſaid is. And we in owr Soverane lord's next Parliament ſal, with ſolempnities requrit, revok, caſs, and adnull, the power, governance, and auctorite of the ſaid Duke of Albanye; and in the beſt forme appreif, mak, and ratifie, all the premiſſes. And ſal now conſtantly to the premiſſes, to be extendit in the beſt and largeſt form, append our propir ſelis, with ſubſcriptions of our hands. And to the obſerving and fulfilling of the premiſſes, in every point thereof, we obliſs ws, and ilkane of ws, as ſaid is: and under the pains, with ſpirituale men of tynſale of owr benefices; and temporall men of owr heritages; and under the pains of perjure, and perpetuale diffamation. In witnes herof we haif ſubſcrivit thir preſentis with our hands, day, yar, an place forſaidis.

Bp of Galloway, and of our Souveren Lords Chapel.
R. Roſs.
G. Poſtularius Glaſcuen.

Margaret R. *
James Erl of Arran.
Jhon Erl of Levenax.
Erl of Craufurd.

R. de Paſleto.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Johannes Cantaley Arched. S. And.

Mark Kar of Littledean.

Nychol Craufurd.

Erl of Morton.
Erl of Caſſalis.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Hugh Bothuik.
. . . . . .
Auandal.
Wylyem Maſter of Glencairn.
. . . . Bogan.
Mr. Francis Borwick.
Wilem of Strettyng.
Andrew Stuart, Controller.

In the Notarial Copy of this Engagement, B VI, 332, when two days afterwards it was formally ſigned, and ſealed, the ſignatures are as follow.

Margaret R.

Jacobus Cancellarius
D. Biſchop of Galloway and of our Soueraigne Lord's Chapell.
Robertus. Roſs. epus.
G. Sancte crucis Abbas
Alexr Abbas de Scona
Robrs Abbas de Paſleto
Gavinus poſtulat. Glaſguen.
Alexr Abbas de Cambuſkynneth
Thomas De Culros
Decanus Glaſguen.
Secretarius
Johannes Abbas de Jedburgh
G. Lord Sanctiohanys.

James Erle of Arrane
Johnne Erle of Levenax
Erlle of Craufurd
James Erle of Murray
Erle of Mortoun
Erle of Caſſillis
Johnne Lord Erſkyn
Johnne Lord Flemyng
William Lord Borthuik
Alexr Lord Levingſtoun
Lord Avandaile
William Maſter of Glencarne
William Maſter of Ruthwan
Johnne Lindeſay of Petcruwy Knycht
William Scott of Balwery Knycht
Johnne Striveling of Keir Knycht
Sr Petir Crechtoun of Nauchtan Knycht
Patrik Houſtoun of that Ilk Knycht
Alexander Touris of Innerleyth Knycht
Mark Ker of Dolphingtoun
Jacobus Wiſchart Clericus Juſticiarie
Maſter Francis Bothuale Provoſt of Edr.
Nychole Craufurd of Oxingang.

Maiſter Adam of Othirburn of Auldham
David Lyndeſay of Edzell Knycht
James Preſton Baillie of Edr.
Edward Litile Dene of Gild of Edr.
Alexander Nauthane Theſaurer of Edr.
Edward Kyncaid
Maſter James Haliburtoun.

Hec eſt vera copia principalium ſupraſcriptarum litere* obligationis, et ſubſcriptionum manualium predictorum dominorum, eorundem ſigillis vallat. et ſigillat. fideliter copiat. et collacionat. per nos Notarios infraſcriptos, apud Edinburgh, quinto die menſis Auguſti, Anno Domini Milleſimo quingenteſimo viceſimo quarto, Indictione duode-

* Sic.

cima,

cima, Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri Clementis ſeptimi anno primo; et regni excellentiſſimi Principis noſtri Jacobi quinti, Scotorum Regis illuſtriſſimi, anno undecimo.

Ita eſt. Thomas Hammiltoun, Apoſtolica Auctoritate Notarius publicus manu propria.

Ita eſt. Alexander Young Notarius Publicus *.

* This formal Agreement is only dated at the end thus, "In witnes of the quhilk thing to thir preſent lettres, ſubſcrivit with our hands, we have tohungin our propir ſelis, At Edinburgh the firſt day of the moneth of Auguſt, the yeir of God Ane thouſand, fyf hundreth, and twenty four yeris."

On a more cloſe inſpection JACOBUS CANCELLARIUS is in the original, not in the poſition of that in the Notarial Copy, but in the middle under that of Margaret. It was *in parliament* that he oppoſed the meaſure, and refuſed his ſignature to the public act.

N° XVII. *Dr. Magnus to Cardinal Wolſey, 13 Sept.* 1526. Caligula B II, 107.

PLEAS it your Grace to be aduertiſed, that in my laſte lettres, amonggs other thinggs, I wrote unto your ſaid Grace, declaring as thenne myne oppynnyon was what damage and daunger was likly to enſewe to therle of Angwiſhe, and howe there was noon aſſuraunce to be nooted in th erle of Arren. It mooved me ſoe to write, by cauſe the ſaid Erle of Arren being afore an extreme enemy to th erle of Anguiſhe, was newly reconciled: and alſo his proceedinggs afore in many cauſes have not gretely been to be nooted to his honor. Howe be it, as every thing hath commen to paſſe, his acts nowe doe ſhewe the true effecte and experience of his parte, booth towardes his prince, and his kynneſman th erle of Anguiſhe. By reaſon whereof, after my poor oppynnyon, ther is ſuche a knot knytte betwene the ſaide twoe Erles, conſidering they were thoroughly accoorded of late, for the dedely ffede that was betwene thaym for the deth of Sir Patrick Hamylton, that I ſee noe way howe the ſaid knotte ſhulde nowe be diſſolved by any grete perſonnage in Scottelande: oonles it ſhulde be by the compaſing of tharchebuſhop of Saint Andrewes, whoſe practiſes at this tyme have commen to the deth and diſtruction of his kynneſmen, and nigh frendes: and as I am infourmed to his noe litle perell and daungier at this tyme.

Thabbotts of Melroſe and Domfarmeling booth, breder, and Nephewes to the ſaid Archebuſhop be ſlayn; as is a grete frende and Counſailor of his, the lorde of Kere, Capitaine of Starling; with many other his kinneſmen, and ſervants. Soe that douteful it is howe the ſaid Archebuſhop ſhall compaſe and convey for his partie; for I canne not noote any-oon parſon in Scotteland, nowe that therle of Lenneux is ſlayn, and the other taken, that is able or woll encounter with the Erles of Anguiſhe and Arren; whoſe powers and ſtrengthes extende from the Brigge of Starling to theſte and myddle marches. And as the caſe ſtandeth, ther be many friends conformed with thair favors, and devocion to the ſaid Erle of Anguiſhe. So that nowe, after my poor mynde, good it ſhulde be, that the yong king ſhulde be counſailed to avoid all ſymple and ſyniſter counſaill, and to lean with his good and gracious favors to the oppynnyons of the ſaid twoe Erles, being the gretteſte men of power and frendeſhip in all Scottelande, and mooſte meete to doe unto his ſaid grace true and faithfull ſerves, notwithſtanding any letters written by his grace ayenſt therle of Anguiſhe to the contrary.

Mencion

Mencion is made that James Stewarde, and William Stewarde, breder to the Lorde Evendale, be booth ſlayn. Thay were ſpeciall ſervants to the Quene's grace, and breder to Harry Stewarde that attendeth upon her ſaid grace.

I humbly beſeche your ſaid grace to pardon me of this my writing; it is but oonly to make playn ſome parte of the letter, ſent unto me from Sir Chriſtopher Dacre, and to ſhewe my pooreſt oppynnyon as I conceive, concernyng the affaires and cauſes of Scottelande.

Hit pleaſed your grace, at my departing frome the ſame, to commaunde me to write to my Lorde of Combrelande, ſhewing that your grace deſired his Lordſhip to be good to Sir Chriſtopher Dacre, touchinge a ffarmehoolde in thoſe parts. I wroote to my ſaid Lorde as effectually as I couth; and declared howe thankfully his doing for the ſaid Sir Chriſtofer ſhulde be accept by your ſaid grace; but as it appereth by the ſaid Sir Chriſtofers letter there commeth noon effecte of my writing.

Contynually I call and labor for the reformacion of the grete charge of this houſhoolde, and to reduce the ſame to be orderd accoording to the Revenues, wherynne I have ſome buſynes, nevertheles I ſhall applye me as well as I canne to youre gracious commaundement. And after en ordor taken for putting the Commiſſions, lately ſent into theſe parties, in due execution, as canne and may be, the time of the yer conſidered. And our ſitting at York now at Michelmas next for miniſtring of juſtice, ended, I purpooſe ſoon after to ſee all my Lorde of Richmounts Lordeſhips, in theſe north partes, by the grace of God: whoe evermoor have youe, my good and gracious Lorde, in his mooſte bleſſed preſervacion and governance. At Shereiff hooton the xiiith day of Septembre.

Immediately upon the making of this my letter, my Lorde of Richmounts grace, hering that I ſent unto your grace at this tyme, inſtauntely required me to recommaunde hym unto your ſaid grace, beſeeching you of your bleſſing.

Your mooſte humble
preiſte and bedeman.
T. Magnus.

My lorde Legate's grace.

N° XVIII. *Sir Chriſtopher Dacre to Lord Dacre, 2 Dec. 1526.* Caligula B VI, 420.

MY Lorde, whereas I did write unto youe, with your ſervaunt John Moore, of the meating of the Erle of Anguſs, upon Weddniſdaye and Thureſdaye, the xxviiith and xxix of November, at Caldſtreme and Ridaneburne, as ye may fordour perceyve by the ſaid Erle's writing, whiche I did ſende youe with your ſaid ſervaunt. The ſaid Erle keped nowder of the ſaide dayes; but has appointed to mete at the ſaid place the xiii and xiiii daye of this moneth, having litell truſt that he will kepe the ſaid dayes. Albeit I ſhall gif attendaunce of the ſame, for the wele and ſurtie of the borders. My Lorde, your ſervaunt Gares, who has remaned in Edinburghe all the parliament tyme, come hidre to me on fridaye laſt. The ſaid parliament beganne the xiith daye of November; and contynued to the xxvii daye of the ſame moneth: and has contynued the ſaid parliament, with all the ſummons of the three eſtates, unto the viiith daye of January next comyng: and ſo all is departed of the towne for this tyme.

The Quene come to Edinburghe upon Tewiſdaye the xxth day of November. The King, and all the Lordes, mete her two myles without Edinburghe, at Corſtorphyne; and with her but a ſmall companye. And ſo the King and the Quene com rideing downe togidres, throughe the Towne, to the Palice. The Quene lyes in the Chambre where that the Duke laye; and the King lyes in the Chambre above her; all in a lodgeng. The King is amynded not to lye farr from her: nor he will never be frome her, excepte he be owder hunting or ſporting. The Erle of Caſcilles, and the Lorde Avendale, whiche as appered not, is in the handes of the Erle of Arran: and Sir James Hamylton, with all the Lordes and Lardes of the Weſt parties, that was on the partie of the Erle of Lennox, to fyne, and ranſome at there pleaſyr.

The Lord Lynzey, and his landes, is in the handes of my Lord of Anguſs, and George Douglas; with all the Lords and Lardes of the eſte and North parties, as was on the felde with the ſaid Erle of Levennax, to raunſom and fyne at there pleaſyr.

The Larde of Kere' landes is forfeited, and geven to George Douglas. Rynyane Creghton is forfeite, and geven to the Larde of Dumlangrig; and the ſaid Rynyane is reſtored again, and agreed with the ſaid Larde of Dumlangrig, and was in Edinburghe.

The

The Larde of Bukcleugh has a reſpecte, and not forfeite; and will get his pece, and was in Lithqno both Sondaye, Mondaye, and Tewiſdaye laſt, whiche is grete diſpleaſure to the Carres.

The Buſhop of Sancte Androwes and they ar wele agreed: and ſo he may com to the Courte and he will: but he will not com there unto he ſee the Courte changed of another faſhone. The ſaid Buſhop has releeſſed and geven to th erle of Arrain the Abbey of Kilwynnyng; and ſo the ſaid Erle is gone to entre, and take deliverance of the ſame. He has geven to th'erle of Angusſh two thouſand marcs Scotts; to George Douglas a thouſand marcs Scotis; to Archibald Douglas a thouſand marcs Scotis; and he has alſo geven to Sir James Hamylton a thouſand marcs Scotis.

The Abbot of Arboroeth, whiche is Kynneſman to the Buſhop of Saint Androwes, has lyne all this Parliament tyme in Edinburghe, for the fulfilling of this aggreament.

Drurye, a monke of Minouſe Abbey, has gotten the bulles of the ſame Abbey at Rome, and cauſed them to be proclamed; whiche has done grete diſpleaſure to my Lorde Maxwell, for it will put his broder from the ſame by all likely hede, notwithſtanding the King and the Lordes at this Parliament has inacted that no Scotiſman ſhall purchaſe no benefice at the Poppes hande, except that they have licence of the King, and the Lordes of the Counſail.

Therle of Arguyle, th'erle of Crawfurth, nowder of them com at this Parliament, but did kepe them out.

Alſo th'ordering of good juſtice, there is noon done in all Scotland; for the Larde of Langhenbarr, who ſlew the Larde of Bondbye in Sainte Guyles Kirke dore, does go up and downe all this Parliament tyme, at his pleaſure, in Edinburghe, without any maner of correction or puniſhment.

It is thought, and oppenlye ſpoken all this parliament tyme, that if the Quene do remane with the King, that the Courte wil have a tourne; for the King has noon affection, nowder to th'erle of Angusſh, nor therle of Arrain.

My Lorde, as in your owne cauſes I can advertiſhe your Lordſhip of no thing therof, but within breif tyme, aftur that I com into the contrey, your Lordſhip ſhall be advertiſhed of every thing at lenth. And as in all oder affayres of Scotland, your Lordſhip may be advertiſed by your ſervant Gares this berer. And the bliſſed Trinite preſerve your good Lordſhip. At the Caſtell of Norham upon Twedde, the ii daye of December.

Your frende,
Cryſtofer Dacre.

My Lorde, I beſuche your Lordſhip to ſpeke with Maiſter Chaunceller for ſom amendmend of this houſſe; for of my fedelite ther is never a Chambre but it doys rayne in it, Hall, Kitching, in ne oder like, as your ſervaunt this berer can ſhewe youe.

To my Lord Dacre his good Lordſhip.

N° XIX. *William Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolſey*, 18 *July* 1528. Caligula B. I, 17.

PLEAS it your Grace to be advertiſed that, ſens my repare in theſe North parties, and upon the knowlege had of the ſubdeigne exchange of th'affairs of Scotland, I ſent a ſervant of myne to Edinburghe; who laye ther the ſpace of x dayes, and cam hidder this daye to me. He ſheweth me that the King and Quene cam frome Sterling to Edinburghe, upon Mondaye the vi daye of this Moneth, accompanied with the Biſhops of Glaſkew, Abirdene, Dunkeld, Gallowaye, and Brighen; togidders with th'erles of Argile, Arren, Ecclington, Rothuſe, and Bothwile. And alſo the Lordes Maxwell, Avendale, Seton, Forbos, Home, and Yeſtre, with their ſervaunts, to the number of CCC. Speres. And in the Buſhop of St. Andros loegeing the King remaigned tewiſdaye, wedniſdaye. And upon Thureſdaye following ther was proclamation made, in the King's name, that no writing, meſſangers, or Meſſages, ſhuld by any parſon be ſent unto th'erle of Angwis, his two bretherne, or Uncle. And that none appartaignyng unto any of theim ſhuld be found in the towne, or precinct of the ſame, from iiii of the clock aftarnoon furth, upon paine of deth. Upon the Satturdaye, and Mondaye following, the King and the foreſaid Lordes ſatt in the tolbooth; where as thaye determyned to have a parliament, and the ſame to begynne in Edinburghe on Wedneſdaye the ii^{de} daye of September. Thaye have autorized the Buſhop of Glaſkew, late the Kings Schoolmaiſter, to be Chaunceller of Scotland: the Lord Maxwell to be Proveſt of Edenburghe. The King and Lordes of Counſaill haith ſent writings at this tyme unto the King's Highnes, and your Grace, with Patrik Sincler. The King is reuled and adviſed by the Quene, Henry Stieward now her Huſband, the Lord Maxwell, and the Lard of Buccleugh, cheif mantener of all miſguyded men on the borders of Scotland; togidders with the ſhireff of Ayre, that ſlew therle of Caſſils, and now bedfello to the ſaid King; with ſuche lyk oder murderers, and myſguyded perſonnes, whiche are now beſt cheryſhed, and moſt in favors with the ſayd Kyng and Quene. I ſee no liklyhode or appearaunce of any ſtaye, or good order, to be had within Scotlaund, for the cauſes aforeſaid. Therfore I beſiche your Grace that I maye knowe the pleaſour of the King's Highneſs, and your Grace, as I ſhall ordour me, for as muche as many henyous offences ar commytted upon the bordours of both ſides, and thofficers that was, or now is, deputed for the partie of Scotlaund, neithir made, or

of liklyhode woll make, redres for the . . . . . attemptats paſſed. Aſſuring your Grace all the tyme the King was in Edinburgh, he was nightlie watched with ſundrye Lordes, in their moſte defenſible arraye: and one night the King watched hymſelf, in like arraye, for fere of therle of Angwys and his partie. Upon teweſdaye laſt the ſaid King and Quene removed to Sterling; and the Lordes roode to their owne countreys, leving Edinburghe, and the Countrey adjacent, in diſorder. As other newes occurres, worth advertiſement; your Grace ſhal be certefied frome tyme to tyme.

Like it alſo your Grace, ſeing the diſordour within Scotlaund, and that all the myſguyded men, borderers of the ſame, inhabiting within Eſkdale, Ewſdale, Walghopdale, Liddiſdale, and a parte of Tevidale, foranempt Bewcaſteldale, and a parte of the middle marches of this the King's bordours, entres not this weſt, and mydle marches, to do any attemptate to the King our ſaid Soverain' ſubjects: but thaye com thorow Beawcaſteldale, and retornes for the moſte partie the ſame waye agayne. And alſo ſeing ther is no ſtaye had in the ſaid Beawcaſtelldale, like as was deviſed by the King's Highnes and your Grace, at myne admiſſion to thoffice of Weſt Wardenrye, therfor it maye pleas his ſaid Highnes, and your Grace, to ſend unto Thomas Muſgrave Commaundement to lye in Beawcaſtell, aſwell for the ſuretie and defence of his Charge, as for the reſt of both thes Weſt and Middle Marches. And he ſhal have aſſiſtence at all tymes requyſite, when he ſends unto me, or my deputie, lawfull warnyng.

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Sens the ſaid Dyk Irwen was taken, his broder, kynne, and friendes hath taken a kynnyſman of myne, called Jeffray Middilton, a man of oon hundreth Mark launde, and better, as he was comyng in his Pilgramege frome Sainct Ninians in Gallowey within Scotlaund; and kepes hym amonges errant theves, adjoyning to the bordours, for ſuretie, and woll not put or ſuffer hym to come to libertie, as a trew Pilgrame ſhulde, without he redemes the ſaid arrant thef called Dik Irwen; notwithſtanding the King of Scotts ſalve conduitt that my ſaid kynnyſman had for his trew paſſage of record. And the holy Trynytie preſerve your good grace. At Naward the xviii daye of July.

Yours with humble Service,
Willm. Dacre.

To my lord Legatis good Grace.

N° XX.

N° XX. *Declaration of Friar Andrew Cairns, probably in Sept.* 1528. Caligula B VII, 79.

BE it kend till all and ſindri, quhome to it efferis, that my Lord Umq^{ll}. of Anguſs deſirit us Frere Andro Cairnis, Miniſter of the freir minoirs obſervants of Scotland, be divers writings, till laubour and ſolliſt the King's Hieneſs of Scotland, for gude wayes and concord to be had, betwixt the King's Grace and the ſaid Lord. Praying us finalie to preſent his writings to the King's Hienes: quhais tenor followis. " Sir, in my maiſt lawlie maner I commend my humyle ſervice to your Hienes. Sir, pleſit your Grace to call to remembrance the faithfull ſervice, lawlie obediance, and grete offers proceding of trew hart and mynd, that my ſempilnes hes maid, and divers tymes cauſit to be maid, unto your Hienes; in ſike ſorte that nevir ſubject nor ſervand mycht offer mair obediently to his Soverane and Prince, nor purpoſe mair ſouirly to obſerve the ſame. Howbeit in gud faith I nevir faltit agains your Hienes, as I ſall anſwer to God, nother in word nor deide. And thoucht I percheſt the requeſt of your dereſt Uncle, the King's Grace of Ingland, it was no cauſe of diſpleaſure, conſidering I was ſa extremlie don to, nocht allanerlie at I had ſoucht ſupplication of your dereſt Uncle, bot alſua of all Criſtyne Princes. And quhair my offeris ar reput generale, Schir pleſit your hienes, quhome I and all at I haue is in your handis, your grace may diſpone in ſpeciale thereapon, as your hienes thinks maiſt expedient. And miſteris nocht to move in armye to your hous of Temptallon, ffor it, and all the laif, ſalbe and is at your cumand; and I at your gracis will, to pas quhair pleſis your hienes; and my gudis to be at your diſpoſition: ſa I may be reſtorit againe to my honor, and heretage, and aſſurit of my life. For without honor I war not abill to ſerf your hienes, nor nane uthir prince. Maiſt humlie beſeking your hienes till accept thir my lawlie offiris, and trew ſervice, and reſſeve my ſempilnes in favour; quhilke will redound to your hie honor, lawd, and price, throw all the warld, that is ſo gracious and mercifull prince to your ſubiects, and ſervands. And gif yowr hienes wald be mair humane and favorable to me, than is above writtin, I might maik the better ſervice. Schir I pray God conſerve your maiſt noble perſon in lang life, and gude heile. Writtin at your abbay of Coldinghane this wedinſday at nycht." Quhilks beand red, the King, with advis and counſale of his lordis, accept the forſaid offeris. The lordis makand ane dokete for the obſerving of every puntt deſirit be the ſaid erle, and this ſaid writing, ſa that he obſerve and kepit every puntt above promittit,

And for the mair ſecurite the King's hienes, twichand his breiſt, promiſt IN VERBO REGIO till obſerve his ſaid deſiris, ſa that he kepit all his forſaid promitts. The quhilk dokete we ſend to the ſaid Erle on the Friday; and reſſauit this writing, ſend fra him, one the ſeturday therafter. "Fader, I commende me hertlie to yow; and this friday I reſſauit your divers writings, and advertiſments, and undirſtands tha ſamen. And quhair you write to deliver my hous of Temptallom incontinent, to quhat perſons the Kings grace pleſis, and to fulfill the remanent of my writings, I am contentit to fulfill and byd at all the puncts of my writings, my deſiris contenit therin beand fulfillit to me. And that ane to be endit with that uthir. And quhair ye ſay I may caus my one Broder and frends make ſik offeris for thair ſelfis, as I do for me, ye ſhall underſtand that the haile quarrell is myne, and na diviſioun amangs me and thame. And gif I mak ony way for my ſelf verray nocht allanerly mon I have thame contenit therin, bot alſua, or I leif furth the leiſt lad at perteinis to me, I had leuir neuir have heretage in Scotland. And as for the deliverance of thir men ye deſir, ſa all other things be fulfillit, that mater ſalbe endit amangs the laif. Praying yow to thanke all gude frendis that has done for me. And I thank yow ryght hartle, and ſall reward yow, helping God: quha preſerve yow eternale. Written at Coldinghame in haiſt this friday at nyght. Subſcrivit, yours Archibald erle of Anguſs." Thir ar the verray copeis of the letters ſend to the King's hienes, and our ſempilnes; quhilks at the deſir of the maiſt reverend father in God Gavyne Archibisſhope of Glaſgow chancellar, and lordes of the counſaile of Scotland, and my lord Ambaſſador, Archidene of Eſtereddours to the maiſt nobyll and excellent prince, Hary King of Ingland, quhilks we teſtifie be owre avne ſubſcripcion. Fordir howbeit the Erlis writing ſpak allanerly for hymſelf, nevertheleſs the Kings hienes, deſirit be us, promiſt to reſſaue his kyn and frends, in the ſame ſort; ſa that thai wald mak ſic lik offeris for thame ſelfs, as the ſaid erle maid for hym ſelf.

Ffrer Andro Cayrnis,
miniſter provincial
of the freir minors
in Scotland, with our
hand.

Ffrer Andro Cayrnis
apprevis the word
on the tother ſyd,
IN VERBO REGIO.

N° XXI. *Northumberland to Wolsey*, 9 *Oct.* 1528. Caligula B. VI, 459.

PLEASITH it youre good Grace, according to your Comaundement, to be advertyſed of the newes of theis parts, ſyns my laſt lettres unto the ſame. The Kyng of Scotts, the 11de day of this preſent month of October, in hys owne perſon, with the nombre of D men, came to the Abbey of Coldyngham: afore whoſe commynge the Erle of Angwyſhe brother, whoo was Prior ther, was deperted to the mercy of God, and ther thought to have takyn the ſaid Erle; but he havyng prevey warnyng of the Kyngs malicyus purpoſe, did hove, with CC men, within a myle of the Kynge. And at the ſaid Kyngs comynge thyther, he put the Lord Home, and his brother the Abbot of Gedworth, in the ſaid hous of Coldyngham: and ther left theyme to kepe it, returnyng agayn homeward. At which returne the ſaid Erle of Angwyſhe purſued the Kyng ſoo faſt, that he drove hym to Dunbar.

And alſoo the ſaid Erle expulſed the Lord Hoome, and his brothir, owte of Coldyngham; and ther now doth remayne hymſelf, as more at length your Grace may perceyve by the Erlis lettres ſent unto me the which letter I ſend unto your Grace herein cloſed. And nowe the ſaid Erle haith ſent unto your Grace's Caſtell of Norham the Laidy Margaret his doughter, which he had by the Quene; whoo ther doth remayne unto ſuch tyme I may knawe furder of your Grace's pleaſure.

And for the ſaid Erle, I can ſee non other but that, of very neceſſite, he ſhal be dryven unto this Realme for ſucker, by reaſon of the great army that the Kynge doth rayſe againſt the xviii^th^ day of this month, only to put and expulſe owte of his Realme the ſaid Erle: whoo in lykewyſe haith wryten unto me to aide hym. To which no furder than I have wryten unto your Grace by my former letters, I will procede anends the ſaide Erle, unto ſuch tyme as I may knaw the Kyngs Hyghnes's pleaſure, and youre Grace's: the which to folowe, accordinge unto my moſt bounden dutye, I ſhall indevour myſelf, to the uttermoſt of my power.

Notwithſtanding nowe, whan the ſaid Erle of Angwyſhe dyd ſet apon the Kynge of Scotts, it was in the nyght, at which tyme many Scottſmen, and, as I am very credably informed, dyverſe of the borders of England, came unto the ſaid Erle in the nyght; the which dar not reſort unto hym in the day. Soo that he was D men, apon the nyght whan he chaſſed the Kynge.

And for Juſtis of the Borders, here is none kept of the Scotts party, nor noo redreſſe maid: for of late the Scotts have bene in, on the water

water of Tyne, and takyn xxiii men, and xvi Catell. And noo redreſſe I can have of the Kynge of Scotts, nor of hys Counſell for the ſame.

And for the Contrey of Northumberland, for theft done for ony Inglyſhe men, I ſuppoſe was never in ſuch ſtay as it is nowe; and noo crymes now comytted, nowther by Gentlemen, ner non other, contrary to the Lawes of the Wardenry, and Juſts, but they be ſharply corrected. Sayff, to the perlus example of all the Contrey, Syr William Ellycar haith, without licence, bene in the Realme of Scotland, and alſo brought in with hym Mark Carre, and other Scottſmen, to the Kyngs Caſtel of Werk; and ther hunted openly with the Scotts men in Ingland. The which march treſons, by caus he is the Kyngs Servant, I durſt not procede unto, without the Kyngs pleſure knawen, and your Graces; the which in the premiſſes moſt humble I beſech the ſame I may knaw: and that it may like your good Grace to gyf credence unto my felowe Lenard Muſgrave, this beirer, whoo purpoſely I ſend up unto you, to informe youre Grace of thes occurraunces at lenth.

And this ixth day of this preſent month, I receyved lettres frome the Kynge of Scotts, and the Quene, the which I ſend unto youre Grace; wherby your Grace may well perceyve the colorable aunſware of the ſaid Kyng, as oure Lord knowith: whoo evermore preſerve your good Grace with long lyf, and as mych increaſe of honour as youre moſt noble hart can deſyre. Writen at the Kyng's towne of Newcaſtell uppon Tyne, the ixth day of October.

Your moſt bondon Servant,
H. Northumbreland.

To my Lord Legats good Grace.

N° XXII. *Angus to Northumberland, November* 1528. Caligula B VII, 99.

MY Lord, in my maiſt hertly manere I commend me unto you Gud Lordſhip. And to certify the ſamyn of ſic Nouelles as occurris her, empleſit yor L. call to remembrance, how the king my Maiſter aſſemblit his army the xviii day of October laſt bipaſt; notwithſtanding the tender and ſpecial lettres, the kings hienes of Eingland directis to his grace, in ſauouris of me, and incontrar the ſaid convocation, or aſſegeing of my hous of Temptallon. At the quilk he, and his army, with artaillierie of his awng, and of Dunbar caſtell, in great quantite, has lyne and aſſegit rycht ſharply, baith be gunnis and ingeniouſs men, baith Scottis and French; that myndit the Wallis in ſic ſort, that as can be rememberit thar was nevir ſa mekil pane, travell, expenſis, and diligence, done and maid for the wynnyng of ane houſs, and the ſamyn eſcaip, in Scotland, ſen it was firſt inhabit. And upon Weddyniſday, the ferde of November, the King removit to Edinburght, but xvi mylis fra Temtalloun; and left ane band of fut men, and ane company of hors men, to convoy hame the artaillierie. And that ſamyn Weddyniſday at nyght, I and part of welehorſſet men of myn awin, of the nowmer of aucht ſcor, (and levit the lave of my folkis behynd me at Temtalloun,) followit in after thame; and a litill after the mone ryſing, or it was day, ſet apone thame; and has defait thame all, loving to God, baith hors men, and fut men; and ſlane David Falconer, principall Captaine, of the fut men, the beſt man of Wer was in Scotland, on the ſey, and was takin be Eingliſhmen not lang ago. And I have takin ane uthir Capitane of the fut men, and has him in firmance. And als I tuk the Maiſter of the Artaillie, and wan all the ſamyn; and had baith men, and artaillierie, all in my will and dangar: bot becauſs the King my Maiſter is ſa neir of blud to the Kings hienes of Englande, that has done ſa mekill for me, and ſa gud and graciouſs Prince to me, and mekill the better be yor ſolicitatioun, I wald not diſhonor the King here ſo fer as to hald his artaillie, bot convoyit the ſamyn myſelf, quhill it was furth of danger. And ſufferit the Maiſter of artillie to pas, and prayit him to commend my lauly ſervece unto my ſoverane, and to ſhew his Grace that I have been trew ſervand and ſubject to the ſamyn: and that I gave his Grace na wyte of ocht that was done to me, bot to the ewill aviſit perſones about his grace, not worthy thereto; and had done ſic diſhonor to him at this time thai mycht nevir amend it, and I had pleſit put it to execucioun. My Lord thir premiſſis are of verite. And howbeit I myght have ane way and appoynt-

ment,

ment, I will do nothing therin bot be the ordinance of the King's Hienes of Eingland, and the aviſs of yor Lordſchip. And has writtin preſently to the King's hienes to ſend command to the Commiſſionaris, not to tak na trewis nor peax, without I and my frends be reſtorit to our heritages, benifices, Offices, Rowmys, and poſſeſſions. And his grace abyding therat, I knaw perfit all will be as his hienes will have it. And further in every behalff my brother your ſervant can informe yor L. quham God conſerve eternaly. Writtin at Coldingham Abbay, this Satterday.

Yours Ar^{d} erl.
off Angus.

To my Lord Erle of Northumberland,
Lieutenant, and Warden General, of the
Marchis of Eingland foranents Scotland, &c.

N XXIII. *James V to Dr. Magnus, 5 Dec. 1528.* Caligula B VII, 120.

SUR, Myn hartly luffit clerk, we gryt yow weel, and thanks yow with all our hart of the gud mynd ye beer at all tymes tewart the wyll of ws, and our realm, quhilk we perſaif be dyverys experymentys; and thynk weyll we ſall be kend theron as tym requerys. Prayand you to perſewer in ſyk yor gud mynd, for the weyll bath of our dereſt uncle and ws, and of our realmys, lyk as the Baryr Meaſter Adolvy * can ſchaw you; to quhom we pray yow gyf credens. Wirtyn with our hand, at Ed^r the vth day of Deſem^r.

Y^r frynd,
James R.

* Perhaps *Adam* Ottirburn, for the hand-writing is not very legible, being wholly the king's own.

N° XXIV. *The libellous interceſted letters of John Penman to Sir George Douglas, Oct.* 1536. Copies, Caligula B III, 293.

LETTER I. Rouen, 22 Oct.

RYGHT Honorable, and my ſinguler good lorde, I commend my ſervice to youre Lordſhyp. As for tydyngs I here . . . . . to be trew, notwythſtondyng as I am informed the Kyng wyll not have the Dukes Doughter. He is as yit up at Lyons, or els at Rowane a yiſſid*, I here ſaye he is ſumwhat a craſed. He is the werſt ſpoken of man, namely of his owen, boyth menyons and gentlemen, wher the dar ſpeke it, that is in the univerſall world. He hayth beggert all Scotland, as they ſaye or he cum owt of it. And nowe beyng here, orderyng hymſelfe ſo folyſhelie; with a ſervannd or ii, runnyng up and down the ſtreats of Parys, bying every tryffell hymſelfe; he wenynge no man know hym, wherfor that every carter poyntyd with ther fynger, ſayng yondre goyes la Roy de Eſcoiſſe. Sum ſaye he wyll deſyre the Kyng of Fraunce's Doughter; other ſum ſayes he will deſyre nocht els, but Dunbarr, a Shepp, and ii or iii horſſes. He haith ſend Rychyt Carmechell in] Scotland, with wryttyngs and tokens to the Lord of Lawghtlevens wyfe; wharfore other ſom ſayes he wyll have her. Every man ys very with him; they wyſhe hym undre the grounde; they ſwere he can not contynew. No man can tell how ſone he cumys be poſt, to put his fute in a Shepp, or taryes all thys wynter. Ther ys with hym Olyuer Synkler, Robert Gibs, Andrew Wod, John Talland, and James Maxuell of Rowen, and Monſieur Eſturmaill the ſteward of the Duck of Vandoms houſe. George Stele, and hys Chapell is in Rowen; John Drumond, Henry Kempt, with all the reſydew, ys in the New Haven. It is informed me, of youre ſinguler frends, there ys no Scotts man with him for hys hede dar move your matter to the Kyng. He cannot byde the ſyght of them that he thynks favors yowe; notwythſtondyng I ſhall do youre commandement (God wyllyng) prove as it may. The Kyng follows no man's counſell, but hys owen brayn, without any conſyderacon; wherefore both more and leſs haytts hym to the Devell. The Erle of Moray aſked the Kyng where hys menyon Sir James was, that he cam not wyth hym; the Kyng ſayd he had fawttid ſore to him, and ſhuld never have hys favor agayn: na, ſayd the Erle, by the wondes of God he cannot fawt to you, thought he ſhuld dryte in youre hands. The

* Sic: ſome error of the old copyiſt.

Erle

Erle roundyd a friend of yours in the ere, and ſayd Where ys your maſters nowe, why are they not doyng? they ſhuld have now frendes ynewe. And thys ſame taile haith ben told me ſo ofte, that I know you have mony of the harts of them about hym. They wold have hym down: he cannot contynew emongſt them. Ther ys words betwene George Stele and M^r: Adam Otterborn. George haith wryttyn a letter hame to M^r. Adam, ſayng he ſhall cauſe hym to be hanged, by cauſe that he intercomynid, as George Stele ſays, with my Lord * and yowe, he beyng Ambaſſador at London. The Kyng had commynycacon with the Erle of Moray, ſayng that Douglas Daile ys a noble contray; and that ii marks lands gave to hym a hundre marks: wher every wyffe have good barrels of aile in her howſe to entrete a Prince wyth. Wher upon I marke the extremnes of the Kyng toward you; and the great diſpleaſure that the Erle bers the Kyng, if he durſt owt wyth it, in ſo miche as he ſhewed thys thyng unto your frends. To be playn, in good fayth I wold you had the Kyng of Englond's good wyll, wyth hys ſupple to ſtrenght yow in your ryght at thys tyme. But I am afferyd the Kyng wylnot ſuffre you; and I wold you ſhuld not interprice without hys good dede and wyll thereto. But take pacience, for I hape your adverſaries glaſe, the Kyng of Scotts, is allmoſt runne owt. The Erle is very with hys parte, and alſo aſhamed; in ſo myche he ſayd he wold folow hys foreberers fute ſtepes, to go the ſame waye that they went *; that to be ſtykyd in a gutter, I wold not be in hys condicion to be Kyng of all the world. To morow, God wyllyng, I entend to taike my Jorney toward John of Drummond. I muſt goo ſecretly, and mayk ſecret ways, for he wyll be utterly maryde if it be knowen that I ſhuld ſpeke wyth hym. As I here ferder tydyngs yow ſhall know. If you wold haue ought ells, cauſe your wryttyngs with haſte to be delyvyred to George Howm in Depe; for I cannot tell how long I ſhall tary here; I entend no lengar then I have occaſyon. I wrote to your Lordſhyp a letter owt of Depe, the xix daye of Octobre, which I truſte is cumand to your hands or now; as knowith God, who have you in hys kepyng. At Rowen, the xxii daye of Octobre, by your's aſſurydly,

Gawine cumys nyghtly
to me with newes.

M^r: John
Penven.

(The copie of Penven hys lettre to the Lord Douglas.)

* Angus. † An alluſion to Douglas earl of Moray, a rebell againſt James II?

LETTER II. Paris, 29 Oct.

RYGHT honorable, and my eſpeciall good lorde, I commend my ſervice to youre Lordſhyp. Certefying the ſame that, ſen I landyd in Fraunce, I was not oon daye unridding. I have ben at Hartflowe, and at the New Haven. I bare Gawyn's charges, and tooke hym with me, to that entent that I ſhuld kepe my ſelfe cloſe, and cauſe hym to bryng your frends to me, bothe for yowr welth and ther's. He went to the man that I was ſpecially ſend to. He was glad of my comyng, bot he cowde not cum to me; nor he wold not that I ſhuld have cumyd to hym. The king ſende to hym a letter chargyng hym, in payn of hys hed, he ſhould not departe from the Sheppe ii pare of buttelenghtes, nor yet lye owt of her, wher all hys treaſure and rayment laye. Not with ſtondynge he is youre faythfull frend. Nor, as I am informed, ye have not a foo with the Kyng at thys tyme, ſave the Erle of Argyle. John of Bartoun com lovingly to me in Hartflowe, and ſhewed to me many good tydyngs. Sir James Hammylton is evell reported of to the Kyng of many; and the Kyng haith ſworn to have amends of hym; in ſo myche the King hym ſelfe ſayd, upon the ſee, to John of Drummond, If I wold bot oons luke merely upon the Erle of Anguſs, Sir James wold drowppe; for by the wondes of God, ſayd the Kyng, for all Sir James bragyng, the Erle of Anguſs and he never mett, bot Sir James torned euer the bak ſemes of his hooſe. After poyntments and wayes made with your frends, I returned again to Rowen; wher, that ſame nyght, I harde an inclyn of a poyntment betwen the Fraunce Kyng and the Kyng of Scotts. Wherefore on the morning I was ſtyryng betyme, and poſtyd to Parys to know the truthe of every thyng. A legge a yyſid * Ponttoyes I mette with my Lorde Aſkyne and the Abbot of Couper, makyng haſte to the New Haven to paſſe in Scotland, in oon of the Kyng Sheppes, to receave Dumbar to the Kyng of Scotts uſe, with all the Implements thereof. Of a certainty the Kyng of Scotts ſhall marye Madame Magdalen the Fraunce Kyngs eldeſt Doughter: the xxv daye of Novembre, they ſhall be mayd handfaſt, other in Bloyes, or els in Ambos, wher nowe bothe the Kyngs be together. Ther mariage ſhall be in Parys, with great tryumphys. The ſame daye in Parys ſhal be maryed the Duke of Wandome Doughter, the which the Kyng ſhuld have had, to the Counte of Auvars †. The Kyng ys mych mayd of with the Fraunce, and put in the ſame order that the Dolfynne had, with all the Dolfyns ſervands

* Sic: probably *ayond*, beyond. † Anvars or Auvais.—Avrair?

wayttyng

wayttyng upon hym. It was ſhewyd to me, of a ſage merchante of France, that their ii Kyngs wold have the Kyng of Englond with them thys wynter. The Kyng of Englond can deſyre nothyng reaſonable of the Fraunche Kyng, but he ſhall opteyn it, he loves hym ſo well. Wherefore if ever ye looke to have the favor of the Kyng of Scotts, othir now or never plye your buſyneſs; and breke the matter to the Kyng of Englond your mayſter, for he maye opteyn at thys tyme of the Fraunce Kyng what he will deſyre. And I am ſure the Kyng of Scotts wyll denye nothyng, that the Fraunce Kyng wyll deſyre hym with. In the mean whyle (God wyllyng) I ſhall ſo labor with your frends, that the Kyngs malice ſhall be ſumwhat abatyd. Lyberton ys kynde after the olde fation, with many more, if they durſte expreſſe it. Me think it beſt that ye ſhuld ſo ſolicyt the Kyng's moſte affectuall letters, that they ſhuld be with the Fraunce Kyng before the daye of mariage; the which ſhall be upon Sanct Katheryns Daye, if all promyſes be kept. Yf you wyll have me to do ought els, inſtructe me wyth your wryttyngs, the which I loke every daye for. Cauſe the wryttyngs ye ſhall ſend to me to be delyvyred in Depe, to George Howm. Thys ys the thyrde letter that I have wrytten to your Lordſhyp, ſens I com in Fraunce; the which letter I pray God maye ſone com to your hands, both for your welth and my diſcharge. I entend to ſeke up to the courte for more knolege; but thys ys trew that I wryte to yow. Other yow ſhall opteyn the Kyng of Scotts favor, if the Kyng of Englond wyll ſhew hym ſelfe your good mayſter, as your truſte ys in hym, or the Kyng of Scotts com owt of Fraunce; or els we ſhall never few for hys favor and good wyll hereafter. Ye know what that ye have to doo, as God comforth yow to your harts eaſe. As knowyth God, who evermore preſerve yowe. In haſt; at Parys, the xxix Daye of Octobre, by your own unfeynydely,

M: John
Penven.

(The trew Coppyes of the Scottyſh
letters taken of laitt
from a Scott, good as I
thinke to be ſeyn.)

N° XXV.

N° XXV. *Sir William Eure to the Lord Privy Seal of England, 26 January* 1540. MS. Reg. 7 C XVI.

PLEAS it your goode Lordſhipe to be advertiſede, that at the meating which I had with twoe gentle men of the King of Scotts' Counſaile, at Caldeſtreme, for ſuche buyſynes as I have advertiſed your Lordſhipe of, in myn other letter, what of our precedings in the ſame, I haide diverſe comynyngs with Sir Thomas Bellendyn, one of the ſaid Counſaillors for Scotlande, a man by eſtymacyon apperaunte to be of th age of fiftye years, or above, and of gentle and ſage converſacion, ſpecially touching the ſtaye of the Spiritualtie in Scotlande. And gathering him to be a man inclyned to the ſoorte uſed in our Sovereigns Realme of England, I dide ſoe largely breke with hym in thoſe behalves, as to move to knowe of him of whate mynde the King and Counſail of Scotlande was inclyned unto, concerning the Buſhope of Rome; and for the reformacion of the miſuſing of the Spiritualtie in Scotlande. Whereunto he gentlie and lovinglie anſwerede, ſhewing hym ſelf well contented of that comynyng, did ſaye that the King of Scotts hym ſelf, with all his temporall Counſaile, was gretely geven to the reformacion of the myſdemeanours of Buſhops, Religious perſones, and prieſts, within the Realme. And ſo muche that by the King's pleaſure, he being prevey therunto, thay have hade ane enterluyde played, in the feaſte of the Epiphane of our Lorde laſte paſte, befor the King and Quene at Lightgwe, and the hoole counſaile ſpirituall and temporall. The hoole matier whereof concluded upon the declaration of the noughtineſs in Religion; the preſumpcion of buſhops; the colluſion of the ſpirituall Courts, called the Conſiſtory Courts in Scotlande; and myſuſing of preiſts. I have obteigned a noote from a Scotts man of our ſoorte, being preſent at the playing of the ſaid Enterluyde, of theffecte thereof, which I doe ſende unto your Lordſhipe by this berer. My Lorde, the ſame Mr. Bellenden ſhewed me that, after the ſaide Enterluyde fyniſhed, the King of Scotts dide call upon the Buſhope of Glaſcoe being chancellor, and diverſe other Buſhops, exorting thaym to reforme their facions and maners of lyving; ſaying that oneles thay ſoe did, he wold ſend ſex of the proudeſte of thaym unto his uncle of Englande; and as thoes wer ordored, ſoe he wold order all the reſte, that wold not amende. And therunto the Chancellor ſhuld aunſuer, and ſaye unto the King, that one worde of his gracs mouthe ſhuld ſuffice thayme to be at commaundement. And the King haiſtely and angrely annſuerd, that he wold gladely beſtowe any words of his mouthe that could amend thaym.

I am

I am alſo advertiſed by the ſame Mr. Bellyndyn, that the King of Scotts is fully mynded to expell all ſpirituall men from having any auctorite by office under his Grace, either in houſehold or ells where within the Realme; and dailye ſtudieth and deviſethe for that entente. The ſame Mr. Bellendyne, haithe deſired of me, to haue an abſtract of all ſuche acts, conſtitucions, and proclamacions, as ar paſſed within this the King our Soveraign's Realme, touching the ſuppreſſion of Religion; and gathering unto the Kings Majeſtee ſuche other proffeits as befor haithe been ſpi . . . . . with the reformacion of the miſde-meanours of the clergye; ſaying that he truſtethe to have the King his maſter to ſtudie the ſame. And haith . . . . . me that if I cane attaigne the ſaid acts, conſtitucions, and proclamacions, that I ſhall not adventur to ſende hym thaym, but by ſuch a proper perſon as he, by a ſecreat token whiche is deviſed betwene hym and me, ſhall ſend unto me for that purpoſe. Further he haithe aduertyſed me, that it is appointed the Quene of Scotts nowe being with childe, ſhalbe crowned on Sondaye, the firſte daye of Februarij. And thereafter ſhall be had a convencion of the lords, for whate purpos I cannote be certefied as yet; but as is thought aptely for the reformacion of ſpiritualtie. I am advertiſede by one of myn eſpialls that the Kinge of Scotts, having at this inſtaunte three ſhipes in redynes to goe to the ſees, haithe been at ſeen, and viewed the ſame; and that it is rumered a mainge the common people, thay ſhulde be prepairede for the Kyng to goe to the meating in France. My Lord, conſcidering theffects of the premiſſes, I thought my duetie could be noe les thene of the ſame with deligence to advertiſe your Lordſhipe. Wherin as ſhall further ſtande withe the Kings maieſties pleaſure to commaunde me, even ſoe I ſhall, God willing, applie myn utter deligence, by the grace of the hollie gooſte: whoe ever preſerve your goode Lordſhipe. At the King's maieſtie's Caſtell of Berwicke, the xxvi daye of Januarye.

Your lordſhips

To the right Honourable, and my very goode Lorde, my Lorde privey Seale.

At Commaundement,
Wyllm. Eure.

The Copie of the Nootes of the Enterluyde.

IN the firſte entres come in SOLAICE (whoſe parte was but to make mery, ſing Balletts with his ffellowes, and drinke at the interluyds of the play,) whoe ſhewede firſte to all the Audiance the play to be played, whiche was a generall thing, meanying nothing in ſpeciall to diſpleas noe man, praying therfor no man to be angre with the ſame.

NEXTE

NEXTE come in a King, whoe paſſed to his throne, having noe ſpeche to thende of the play; and thene to ratifye and approve, as in playne parliament, all things doon by the reſte of the players whiche repreſented the three eſtates. With hym come his courtiers, PLACEBO, PIKTHANKE, and FLATERYE, and ſuche alike garde: one ſwering he was the luſtieſte, ſtarkeſte, beſt proportionet, and moſt valiaunte man, that ever was. An other ſwear he was the beſte with longe bowe, Croſebowe and Culveren, in the world. An other ſwere he was the beſte Juſter, and man of armes in the world; and ſoe furthe during thair partes. THER AFTER came a man, armed in harnes, withe a ſwerd drawen in his hande, A BUSSHOPE, A BURGES man, and EXPERIENCE, clede like a Doctor: whoe ſete thaym all down on the Deis, under the KING. After thayme come a POOR MAN, whoe did goe upe and downe the ſcaffald, making a hevie complaynte that he was heryed throughe the Courtiers taking his fewe in one place, and, after, his tacks in an other place; wher throughe he had ſcayled his houſe, his wife and childeren beggying thair brede; and ſoe of many thouſound in Scotlande, whiche wolde make the KYNG's grace loſe of men if his grace ſtod neide. Saying thair was noe remedye to be gotten, for thoughe he wolde ſuyte to the King's grace, he was naither acquaynted with Controuller nor Treaſourer; and withoute thaym myght noe man gete noe goodeneſs of the King. And after he ſpered for the King; and whene he was ſhewed to the MAN that was KING in the playe, he aunſuered and ſaid he was noe King, for ther is but one King, whiche made all and gouernethe all; whoe is eternall; to whome he and all ertheley Kings ar but officers; of the whiche thay muſte make recknyng. And ſo furthe much meere to that effecte. And thene he looked to the KING, and ſaide he was not the King of Scotlande, for ther was an other King in Scotlande that hanged John Armeſtrang with his fellowes, and Sym the Larde, and many other moe, which had pacified the countrey, and ſtanched thifte. But he had leſte one thing undon, whiche pertaynede aſwell to his charge as thother. And whene he was aſked what that was, he made a long narracion of the oppreſſion of the poor, by the taking of the Corſe preſaunte beiſts; and of the herying of poor men by the Conſiſtorye lawe, and of many other abuſſions of the Spiritualtie, and churche; with many long ſtories and auctoraties.

And then the BUSSHOPE roiſe, and rebuked hym, ſaying it effered not to hym to ſpeake ſuch matiers; commaunding to hym ſcilence, or ells to ſuffer dethe for it, by thair lawe. Theraſter roiſe the MAN OF ARMES, alledginge the contrarie, and commaunded the POOR MAN to ſpeake, ſaying their abuſion hade been over longe ſuffered, withowte any lawe. Thene the POOR MAN ſhewed the grete abuſion of Buſſhopes, Preletts, Abbotts, reving mens Wifs, and Doughters, and holding

holding thaym; and of the maynteynyng of thair Childer; and of thair over bying of lords and Barrons Eldeſte ſones, to ther Doughters, wher throughe the nobilitie of the Blode of the Realme was degenerate. And of the greate ſuperfluous Rents that pertayned to the churche, by reaſon of over muche temporall lands given to thaym; which thaye proved that the Kinge might take, boothe by the Canon Lawe, and Civile Lawe. And of the greate abomynable vices that Reiagne in cloſtures; and of the common bordelles that was keped in Cloſtures of Nunies. All this was prouit by EXPERIENCE. And alſoe was ſhewed THOFFICE of a Busſhope, and producit the Newe Teſtament, with the auctorities to that effecte. And thene roiſe the MAN OF ARMES, and the BURGES; and did ſaye that all that was producit, by the POOR MAN and EXPERIENCE was reaſonable, of veritie, and of greate effecte; and very expedient to be reaformede withe the conſent of parliament. And the BUSSHOPE ſaid he wold not conſent thereunto. The MAN OF ARMES and BURGES ſaid they were twoe, and he but one, wherfor thair voice ſhuld have mooſte effecte. Therafter the KING in the playe ratefied, approued, and confermed, all that was reherſed.

N° XXVI. *Norfolk to the Lord Privy Seal of England, 29 March 1540, or 1541.* Caligula B VII, 228.

MY Lorde, with herty recommendations, theeſe ſhalbe t'advertiſe you, that yeſternight cam unto me Barwick the Purſevaunt, from Lancaſter the Harault, whom he left at Edenborough; and had taken his leve of the King, and remayned for letters to the King's Majeſtie. He brought me word from the ſaide Lancaſter, that the King of Scotts commawnded hym to ſende me worde that, on Mondaie or Teweſdaie at the furtheſt, he wold ſende unto me ſomme of his owne houſe, and ſomme of the borders by thoſe termes.

The ſaid Lancaſter ſent me worde alſo that the King there had handeled hym very gentlelie; and that he ſaide unto hym he wold never brek with the King his Uncle during his lif; with many mo very good words, wiche he wold ſhowe me at his commyng hither, wich he thought to be on Mondaie nexte at the furtheſt. And this is all he ſent me worde of.

My Lord, t'advertiſe you further of ſuche newes as I do lerne, I ſhall moleſt you with the longer letter. The ſaid Barwick ſaithe that, on Thurſdaie laſt, a proclamation was made at Edenborough, every man betwene xvi and lx yeres of age to be redy upon xxiiii houres warnyng, uppon payne of deathe: and like proclamations were ſent to all the parties of Scotlande.

Alſo a ſecret frende, who I knowe to bere moche favour to therle of Anguyſhe, and hath a great authoritie about th'ordinaunce of Scotland, ſhewed hym that ther was newe trymmed, and parte of them newe made, in the Caſtle of Edenborough, xvi great peces, as Canons and Culveryns, and lx ſmaller peces for the felde: and that all they ſhold be fully redy within xx daies after Eſter.

Alſo he herde on Wednyſdaie laſt a Sermon preached before the yownge quene at Lithkoo, by a Frier: and the great parte of the Sermon was in extolling of the Buſhop of Rome's authoritie. And ther was preſent the Buſhoppes of Glaſkoo, Galoway, and Aberdene; and no temporall Lords.

Alſo he ſaith that diverſe honeſt perſones of his acquayntaunce there did aſke hym howe we did agree with Fraunce: ſayng further if ye and Fraunce agree well, we and ye ſhall agree well; for as Fraunce doth with you, ſo woll we do. And theſe be the newes in effect that he can ſhewe me.

By diverſe other waies I am advertiſed that the Clergie of Scotlande be in ſuch feare that their King ſhould do theire, as the King's Highnes hath

hath done in this Realme, that they do their beſt to bring their maſter to the warr. And by many waies I am advertiſed that a great parte of the temporalitie there wold their King ſhold followe our inſample; which I pray God yeve hym Grace to comme unto.

My Lord, I beleve th'abbot of Arbroth, nowe Buſhop of Sainct Andrewes, is gone in to Fraunce, to knowe what helpe his M^r^ ſhall have, aſwell of the Frenche King as of the Buſhoppe of Rome, if he breke with us: without whoſe great helpe, I beleve he woll not breke withe us.

Some ſaye in Scotlande that he woll go from Fraunce unto Rome. Some ſaie he ſholde be at a meting, that ſhalbe betwene themperor and the French King. Wher ſo ever he ſhalbe comme, I think he woll provoke all the hurt he can againſt this Realme; for England hath no gretter enemy to his power.

The young quene is all papiſt; and the olde quene not moche leſs, as I am informed: and ſhe hath taken Henry Stewarde agayne. She is now at Sterlyn, and therfore Berwick could not ſpeke wth her; wherof I am ſorry.

Daily commeth unto me ſome Gentlemen and ſome Clerks, wiche do flee owte of Scotland, as they ſaie, for redyng of Scripture in Inglisſhe; ſayng that if they were taken they ſholde be put to execution. I yeve them gentle wordes, and to ſome, money.

Here is nowe in this towne, and hath be a good ſeaſon, ſhe that was wif to the laſt Capitayne of Donbar; and dar not reterne for holding our waies, as ſhe ſaithe. She was in Englande, and ſawe Queen Jane. She was Sir Patrick Hamelton's doughter: and her Brother was brent in Scotlande iii or iiii yeres paſt*. Other newes I have none t'advertiſe your good Lordſhip of; but that I have fownd ſo wek a towne and Caſtle here, that myne hert is ſory to thinke theron. It is xiiii yeres agoo ſith I ſawe it afore nowe; and withoute I had ſeen it with myne eyen, I wold not have beleved it had be ſo ill. I have alredy, and ſhall before my departure hens deviſe, as moche as I can, for the fortefieng therof, at the leaſt as moche as the tyme may ſerve for, and my powre witt can ymagyne. And here be alredy vii^xx^ workmen; and after Eſter ſhalbe as many moo. Sir George Lawſon can receive no more money of thabbot of St Mary Abbay, but iii^c^ x^l^; and no more of the King's money is left in theiſe parties; and how litle while this ſmall ſomme woll laſt, yor good lordſhip can well conſider. Wherfore unles more money be ſent hither within xiiii daies after Eſter, the works here deviſed ſhall lye undonne; and the coſt redy made loſt. Wiche were great pitie, and the ſame ſhold not be a litle to the

* Very clear in the MS. Can there be an error of ten years in the date of Patrick Hamilton's martyrdom?

reyoice of the Scotts; wherfor moſt hertely I require your good Lordſhip to ſee proviſion therfore.

Alſo, my Lorde, I require you to ſende away the pardons for thoſe of Tyndale.

Finallie theeſe ſhalbe t'advertiſe you that the moſte parte of the Gentlemen of Northumbrelande, with their cumpanyes, have mette me in commyng to this towne; whom I have fownde ſo ill horſed, in maner all, ſauf the garnyſon of this towne, that I wold not have beleved the ſame withowte ſight therof. And yet one thing doth reyoice me that I here the borderers of Scotlande be worſe horſed then they.

Requiryng your good Lordſhipp to have me moſt humblie recommended to the King's Majeſtie, making myne excuſe for not writing to his Highnes concerning the premiſſes. And thus our Lorde have you, my very good Lorde, in his tuition. Written at Berwick the xxix. daie of Marche.

Further more I am advertiſed, by a credable perſon, that the marchants off ii Skottiſhe ſhips, now departed into Flaunders, be commanded to by as many hand gonnys as they may get. My Lord, if theſe ungracious preſts may not bryng their Kyng to war this ſomer, I am in gode hope that onys or Criſtmas the Kyng of Skotts woll take moche off their lands into his hands; wich to bryng to pas ſhall lak no ſettyng furth on my behalve, if any of his ſecret ſervants come hither unto me.

Your's aſſuredly,
T. Norffolk.

To my verry good Lorde,
My Lord Pryvey Seale.

N° XXVII. *Brief View of the State of Scotland in the Sixteenth century.* MS. Sloane 3199, 94.

"MSS. *Aſhmol.* 781, *page* 11."

"*General ſtate of the Scottiſh Commonwealth, with the cauſes of their often mutinies and other diſorders. This has been written before the Union of the Crowns.*"

THE KING has not a negative in making Laws, but muſt ratifie what is agreed by the plurality of votes: his authority is ſummoning, and diſſolving, the parliament. And in publiſhing their Laws, they are content that the Prince uſe more ſhew and flouriſh of authority, in the preface to their Laws, than indeed he has, as in the Laws of *Regiam majeſtatem.* Many of the Magiſtrates and publique officers are not of the King's creating, but hereditary; as the Conſtableſhip, Mareſchalſhip, Admiraltie, Shereffship; the latter not only execute the *res judicatas*, as with us, but judge themſelves both in Civil and Criminal matters. Beſides the Lords of Seſſion at Edinburgh are appointed by themſelves; and thoſe recommended to the King may be put off from the Bench. Pardon and Execution in matters Criminal, is not peculiar to the crown; for diverſe of the nobility have *Jus Hereditarium* in matters criminal, to execute and pardon, within their precincts, as abſolutely as the King. The Prince has not abſolute authority in making Leagues or War, but muſt have the conſent of the Eſtates; the ſubjects at firſt are only obliged to follow their King 30 days upon their own proviſion, unleſſe they agree it by a new Convention; this beſides the leſſening the Prince's authority, gives cauſe to mutinies between the Prince and his nobles, and advantage to the . . . . . by protracting the time . . . . . which lie not univerſaly to the Prince for ſeveral of the nobility hold and execute . . . . . Juſtice abſolutely without appeal to the Prince, within their Juriſdictions by Charter . . . . . which the Prince cannot avoid nor take from them. As for example, in the Earl of Mortoun's Charter, which king James the 3d tare openly in Parliament, offended with the Clauſes of it, eſpecially with this point of no appellation to the Prince, adding that the Prince himſelf could have no more. But before he removed from the place where he tare it, he was forced by the nobility to ſit down, and ſew it up again with his own hands; wherefore it is called *the ſewed Charter.* Beſides ſentence of the Lords of the Seſſion is peremptory, and not remiſſable by the Prince, ſaveing where it concerneth

cerneth his own private. Theſe limitations doth he ſuffer in the more Southerly parts; among the Highlanders he ſeemeth to have no more authority than he can get by intereſt or force.

Crown Lands, £.50,000, of their money yearly, which is about £.5,000 ſtarling. At preſent the King's lands ſtandeth out leaſed for long terms, by the late Regent, in conſideration of large fines whereof was preſent need; which is great diſadvantage now.

Cuſtomes, which cannot be great, by reaſon of the ſmall exportation which the country yieldeth, as Fiſh, Salt, Hides, which amounts in the whole but to £.200,000, per ann. *ex Relatione Conſervatoris publici*, the Cuſtom whereof cannot be . . . . . *.

Impoſt, now aſſayed of late to have a Scottiſh ſhilling of each Tun, but was refuſed with grudging and almoſt mutiny.

Confiſcations and Wardſhips, which are claimed for the moſt part imperiouſly by the nobility when they fall. The confiſcations are annihilated, or returned, as the factions prevail; whereby litle cleaveth to the King's Exchequer in the End.

Mines of Lead farmed to one Cuſtome, whereof no profit cometh yet to the King. Of Gold and Silver ther is great likelyhood, &c.— Some doubt if the mines . . . . . to the King, becauſe of the word in the noblemens Charters viz. to have and poſſeſſe their Land, *a ſummo Cœlo uſque ad imos Inferos.*

Church Lands, where little or nothing cometh to the Crown at the diſſolution of them, but were divided amongſt their nobility by the authority of Parliament, holding their . . . . . that the King's Revenue muſt not be increaſed.

Tenths, in lieu thereof, the Prince has the 3d of ſuch benefices as exceed £.300 per ann. Scotch money, which are few, except thoſe which appertain to Abbies, &c. which reſerve their Immunities; whereby the commodity cannot be great, the number of all the Benefices in Scotland not exceeding 900.

Tax and Impoſition, in the Southern parts, where they have money, and the people acknowledge ſome more duty, is impoſed ſometimes for the King's relief, but the Soum is very ſmall. The State ſeemeth ſomething like the Lacedemonian Mula, but ſomewhat worſer ſett, for that the King and Ephori amongs the Lacedemonians had their authority determined, and well agreed upon; here it is uncertain, and under continuall contentions, jealouſies, and emulations, and their Parliament leſſe orderly than the Senate of the Ephori; whereby great inconvenience groweth to their Commonwealth, whilſt their Kings, who are commonly men of good ſpirit, contend with the nobility about authority, and would fain enlarge themſelves, which ſeemeth to have coſt

* Blank in original.

many

many a King's life among them. And in the mean while Order and Diſcipline in their Commonwealth fadeth looſe betwixt both the authorities of Prince and nobility, whilſt they follow factions and particularities. Beſides this conſtitution of their Commonwealth, the want of money and reverence cauſeth the want of authority in the Prince, both to keep that in Order which he hath, and to recover that which he hath not.

Exceſs in proportion of the Nobility.

Number, which being more than ſo ſmall a kingdom can well bear, viz. more than in England, and their Country much leſſe and leſſe fertile, muſt breed great inconvenience to their Commonwealth. And, firſt, to eclipſe and overſhadow the Prince's authority. 2do, To make the Government more heavy upon his hand, by reaſon ſo many of the mightier ſort. Thirdly, to overcharge the Country, and make leſſe the proportion for the other Eſtates in their Ranks and Degrees, viz. for the Prince and for the Commons, whilſt all theſe muſt have to maintain their Degrees and Nobility. Fourthly, it layeth the State open to Diviſion and faction, by means of Envies, Emulation, &c. about particularities, for honor, and Commodities; which doth and muſt fall out, where are ſo many great ones in ſo narrow room.

Authority of the Peers, firſt they are all born Counſellours to the State. 2dly, in the Legiſlature, Leagues, Peace and War, making officers, determining in high Juſtice, and other matters of State, their Authority is joint and neceſſary with the Prince's, and more than can ſtand in a juſt Monarchy; the more becauſe moſt Burrows are at the devotion of ſome Noblemen, as Cowper in Fiffe manag'd by the Earl of Rothes, Perth by Montroſe, Dundee by Crawfurd, all the Northern Towns at the Earl of Huntley's command: whereby they have both their own and their Commons vote in Parliament, and ſo nothing can paſſe to prejudice the Eſtate of the Nobility, or enlarge the Prince's. Their authority over their Tenents, Clients, and Vaſſals, is ſo great, that they regard more their Patron or Noblemen as their Prince. The reaſons whereof are, firſt, in publick matters their Authority is ſo great. Secondly, for that the whole Country hath few or no freeholders, but ſuch as hold at the Lord's pleaſure from year to year; whereby they are made thralld and obnoxious to him, having their whole eſtate and living depending on their Lords, and ſo are made ſervile, and at his commandment life and all.

Revenew. Some have from 15 to 20 Chaulders of victual per annum, beſides ſome part in money, which may amount to £.26000 Scots:

Scots: which the great number of the nobility conſidered, this muſt exceed in proportion, and draw from the other two eſtates viz. the Prince and Commons. And this ſeems to be the Cauſe of all Scottiſh diſtempers, their often contentions, mutinies, partly whilſt they join faſt againſt the Prince, in keeping things in the State they are now in behalf of the Nobility, wherein they are too hard for the Prince: partly when they have fewds and quarrels amongſt themſelves, about their Lands, honor, and Juriſdictions, wherein are engaged the whole number of their Tenants, Vaſſals, and Servants, without furder regard of their Prince's Laws or Equity; and eſpecially amongſt the Highlanders.

Defect in proportion amongſt the Commonality.

Burghers, viz. Merchands and other Tradeſmen. Merchands there are few, and mean for wealth, by reaſon of the ſmall exportation, which the Country affordeth of few things, as of Fiſh, Salt, Hydes, Coarſe-woll, which yeildeth not more than £.200,000 Starling; moſt of which goes out for forreign Commodities as Wines, &c, and ſo cannot grow rich by that Rule, *Divitem et bonum Patrem-familias vendere opportet non emere.* He is counted a rich Merchand who is worth £.100 Starling. *Handicraſtſmen* have but ſmall Trade, and their Trades but few; by reaſon the people are but poor, and accuſtomed to live hardly, without any variety of Diet, apparell, &c. whereby they have the leſſe uſe of divers occupations, and other Handicrafts men make leſſe return. There are 3 Trades for ſome Commodities, ſome coarſe cloth making, Armory making, and Linnen Cloath: all from hand to mouth. Of *Lawyers* there are but few, and theſe about the Seſſions at Edinburgh; for that in the Shires all matters are ended at the great mens' pleaſures. Theſe are of mean wealth, and bear more duty and reſpect towards the Prince. *Huſbandmen* are very poor; they are a kind of Slaves, and pay in a manner to their Lord all the Commodities that come of their Labour, reſerving to themſelves at the year's end in a manner nothing but to live.

This defect of the Commonalty, viz. that there are ſo few of the middle Rank of Subjects amongſt, that are able to live competently and honeſtly of their own, and by that means are a band to tie together the 2 Extremes, viz. the higher ſort and the raſcallity; and to ſway with the better and more peaceable part, as having ſomething to looſe; is another great cauſe of the diſtemper and diſquietneſs of that Realm. For by that means the whole Commonalty in a manner, a few excepted which are of no reckoning in compariſon of the whole, being beggarly

beggarly and raſcall, are ever apt for faction and tumult when occaſion ſerveth; as having nothing to loſe, and hoping to get ſomething, when they may fiſh in a troubled ſea; and ſo follow their Lords quarrells either amongſt themſelves, or againſt the Prince. Whereby the Prince and Commonwealth is ever weaning and floating, like a boat in the ſea, to and fro, *Vento nobilitatis et vulgi fluctibus.*

N° XXVIII. *Declaration of the Parliament concerning the death of James III, 8 Oct.* 1488. MS. Advocates Library, W 6. 44 *.

IN Parliamento Excellentiſſimi Principis, et Domini noſtri metuendiſſimi, Jacobi quarti Dei Gratia Scotorum Regis illuſtriſſimi, tento et inchoato apud Edinburgum, octavo die Menſis Octobris, anno Domini Milleſimo, IIIIc. LXXXVIII, dicto Exmo. principe perſonaliter preſente, unacum tribus Regni ſui ſtatibus, propoſita fuit queſtio et cauſa conflictus apud S. in quo illuſtriſſimus Rex Jacobus tertius, progenitor Sereniſſimi Regis noſtri predicti, FORTUITO CASU in fata deceſſit. Cauſa autem et occaſione hujuſmodi inter tres Status Regni convocatos remotis et diſputatis, Jo. Dominus Glammis preſentavit et exhibuit certos articulos, manu dicti Illuſtriſſimi Regis Jacobi defuncti ſubſcriptos, quorum tenor ſequitur. Hi ſunt ſubſequent. articuli, ſuper quibus Majeſtas Regia ſub ſuo magno Sigillo Commiſſionem dabit dilectis ſuis Conſanguineis et Conſiliariis, vizt. Reverendo in Chriſto Patri Willielmo Abirdonen. Epiſcopo Cancellario ſuo, Georgio de Huntle, Wmo. Mariſchalli Comitibus, Jo. Domino Glammis, et Alexandro Lindeſay;

* In the Catalogue, Vol. II, marked "Conductus Ambaxiatoribus, aliiſque peregrinis; commiſſiones, et alia quædam acta publica, tempore Jacobi II, et III, R. R. Scotiæ. MS. *in* 8." My correſpondent adds the following

"Notes concerning the MSS. in the Advocates Library N° W. 6. 44.

It is in 8vo rather large—long, in very minute Characters, and full of bold broad Contractions as page 19th. It contains 70 pages.

It is a Collection of *Stiles*, probably wrote by a man in office for the ſake of form. Thus it begins, "Conductus Ambaxiators. in bona forma," then follow 8 more, all beginning with Jacobus without dates to page 13th.

Then follow five Commiſſions and Letters of Obedience to the Pope to page 19th, when another ſtill without date.

In page 19th, another Commiſſion without date—then a Diſcharge by the King of part of his Queen's Tocher—penult. May 1450—another 2d February, 1406.

Then three Commiſſions without dates, Page 22. J. Freſale Dean of Reſtalrig and Canon of Glaſgow, Clerk Regiſter of the Rolls Counſel.

In page 25th is a Commiſſion for prorogating a truce 25th June 1493. Then forms of Commiſſions, *vel ſic*, *vel ſic*—and ſo more Commiſſions to page 34th, ſtill without dates.

A long Commiſſion by Henry of England for Peace, Truce, and Marriages. 8. Regni, and a Note about Alexr. Duke of Albany's Commiſſion for chuſing a Wife to him, page 37th, and ſo more Commiſſions to page 51st, where there is one by Robt. Gubr. Scotiæ, but without a date, then page 54th a Form of League without a date, then two or three more Commiſſions without dates."

This and the following paper came to hand too late to be placed according to date in the appendix.

ad

ad Conveniend, Convocand. Concluden. et finaliter terminand. cum Dominis ſubſequen. vix^t. Reverendo in Chriſto Patre Roberto Epo Glaſguen. Archibaldo Anguſie, Colino Ergadie, Comitibus, Patricio Domino Heb. * et Roberto Domino Lyle, qui Domini plenam et amplam habent Commiſſionem ab excellente et magnifico Domino Jacobo Principe Scotie, et ab omnibus Dominis eidem ſervientibus, et in eodem exiſten. In primis ad communicand. et concludend. quod ſublimis Regis honor Regaliſque ſtatus et auctoritas exaltetur et ſublimetur, eum in modum ut poſſit Juſticiam in omnibus Regni ſui partibus, et inter ſuos legeos, univerſaliter et omni loco *ſemiter imperitis* exercere. Secundo, quod ſua nobiliſſima Majeſtas, omni tempore, in honore, et ſecuritate, et libertate, ſervetur; et quod Eccleſiarum Prelati, Comites, Domini, Barones, et alii perſone prudentes, et probitatis, bone diſpoſitionis, et ſue ſerenitati non ſuſpect. verum ſuis ligeis equales, ſint per dies ſingulos circa ſuam Nobiliſſimam perſonam, ad bonum et felix regimen Regni et Ligeorum ejuſdem. Tertio quod omnes perſonæ cum ſuo filio commoran. qui retroactis temporibus ſue Majeſtati diſplicentiam incurrant, faciant honorabilem et legalem emendam ſuæ nobiliſſimæ Majeſtati, ad prudentiam et diſcretionem Dominorum prenominatorum, vita hæreditate et honore exceptis eorundem. Quarto, quod ſacra Majeſtas Regia dabit honorabilem victum, et ſuſtentationem, Domino principi, ſuo primogenito filio, ſecundum predictorum Dominorum Conſiderationem prudentiam et diſcretionem. Quinto, ad aviſandum Dominos, Honorabileſque perſonas, diſcretos, bonæque diſpoſitionis, qui jugiter permanebunt cum dicto Domino principe, pro honeſto et bono Regimine in hac ſua etate tenera, et indole præclara. Sexto, *ad cod* . . . et concludend. qualiter dictus illuſtris princeps, omni futuro tempore, parens et obediens ſuo inclyto Regi et patri; et qualiter paternalis et filialis amor, et pietas, omni tempore inter patrem Regem et filium principem cum honore et reverentia fiet. Septimo, qualiter Domini, ceteræque perſonæ, meram cum Domino principe trahentes gratiam, benevolentiam et favorem ſupremi Domini noſtri Regis, et cordialem remiſſionem et indulgentiam nanceſcant, et quod perſonæ eorund. in ſecuritate permaneant, prout melius et uberius poſſint per dictos Dominos cogitari, * * et diſplicere ſupremo Domino Regi in geſtu temporibus retroactis. Octavo quod illuſtris princeps in cordiales favores omnes Dominos Spirituales et Temporales, ceteraſque perſonas, que ſupremo Domino noſtro Regi in Conſilio et ſervicio in toto tempore turbatæ pacis aſſiſtebant, recipuit. Finaliter, quod omnes diſſentiones, lites, et diſcordie, que nunc ſunt aut agitentur inter aliquos Dominos et Barones principum predictorum, per diſcretionem et prudentiam Dominorum prædictorum ad unitatem Concordiam traducere eum in

* Hepburn Lord Hales.

modum quod dilectorum favor, amor, et benevolentia inter Supremum Dominum noſtrum Regem, Subditos et Ligeos, obſervetur, et pax atque juſticia Regis procedat: et ſpecialiter inter Jacobum Comitem Buchanie, et Robertum Dominum Lyle. Quibus vero articulis viſis et perlectis, Clare conſtabat de ſummo et tenore ipſorum articulorum ſatisfactum fuiſſe; ſed mediantibus nonullis partis illius illuſtriſſimi quondam Regis, pretenſis contrariis . . . . . pro tempore exiſten. quod eidem aſſiſterant et Conſilium dederant ſuper introductione Anglorum, ad perpetuam hujus Regni ſubjectionem. Idem illuſtris quondam Dominus Rex hujuſmodi ſibi objecta ſub palliato colore refutavit. Ob que Comites de Huntle, Errol, et Mareſchall, et dictus Dominus de Glammis, et nonulli alii Barones, et fideles Regis Legii, ab eodem dicto quondam Rege, et ejus antedicto perverſo Conſilio, ſe ſubtraxerint; et Regi noſtro moderno ejuſque fideli opinioni pro Republica adheſerunt. Quibus omnibus et ſingulis jactatis, examinatis, et ad plenum intellectis, Completum Corpus Parliamenti mature aviſatum declaravit et Concluſit, quod conflictus apud S. ubi antedictus Illuſtris quondam Dom. Rex præter ſpem in prælio occubuit, cum nonullis Baronibus et Regni incolis, per totam culpam ſuam, et Colorata deceptione ex ejus perverſo Conſilio emanavit. Ac quod Sereniſſimus Rex noſter modernus, ejuſque fideles Domini et Barones, qui ſecum in hujuſmodi conflictu Convenerant, fuerunt et ſunt immunes et innocentes hujuſmodi Conflictus, et perſecutionis ac homicidiorum ibidem perpetratorum. In quorum omnium et ſingulorum fidem et teſtimonium, Magnum Sigillum præfati Sereniſſimi Principis, et Regis noſtri Moderni, unacum appenſionibus Sigillorum Baronum et Commiſſariorum burgorum, in dicto Parliamento Congregatorum, tres Regni Status repreſentan. preſentibus eſt appenſum, apud, &c.

N° XXIX. *Revocation of the forfeiture of Lennox and Lyle, Feb.* 1490. Same MS.

Annullatio Parliamenti de Proceſſu ſuper Comite de L. * prius prelato.

IN Parliamento Ex^mi. ac Dni. nri. metuend^mi. Jacobi quarti, Dei Gratia Scot. Regis illuſt. inchoato apud Edinburgh, in prætorio ejuſdem, die Mercurii, tertio die menſis Februarii, Anno Domini M°. &c. Octuageſimo nono, et ibid. tento die veneris, quinto die menſis Fb^ri. antedicti, in præſentia prædict. S. D. N. Regis pro tribunale ſedentis, una cum Regni ſui Prelatis, Ducibus, Coitibz, Baronibus, libere tenentibus, et Burgorum Commiſſariis, tres Regni Status repreſent. perſonaliter comparuit nobilis et Illuſtris Jo. Comes de L. Dominus de V. Dos. L. et Mattheus S. filius primogenitus ipſius Comitis de L†. querelam lamentabilem proponentes, quod cum ipſi ad certum diem Citati peremptorie fuiſſent, viz. ad diem Sabbati, viceſimum ſextum diem menſis Junii, A. D. quo ſupra ‡, ad Comparendum Coram S. D. N. Rege antedicto, et tribus Regni ſui Statibus, in Parliamento ſuo apud Ed^r. viceſimo ſeptimo die menſis Junii prædict. tento, ſuper certis leſe Majeſtatis Criminibus in forma Juris reſponſuri. Quo die non ſervato, Juris ordine tres Regni Status in dicto Parliamento pro tempore Congregati, primo citationis die contra eos amiſſionis vitæ et hæreditatis Sententiam protulerint; non obſtante quod in dicto citationis die, hora certa Comparationis aſſignata non fuit, nec in diem Craſtinum proceſſus expectatus; quod de jure in Regni Conſuetudine in variis exhæredationis proceſſibus teneri conſueverat et obſervari. Suppſicarent igitur dictus Jo. R. & M. quatenus conſideratis præmiſſis (cum Regia Serenitas in temporalibus Superiorem in terris non Cognoſcit, qua ratione ab eadem appellare non licet, ſed ſolummodo piis precibus humiliter ſupplicare,) ad nullitatem proceſſus, et omnium inde ſecutorum procedere dignaretur. Quam ob rem Regni Status prædict. Conſcionantes et Conſulentes exhæreditationis proceſſum, judicium, et ſententiam inde ſecut. contra præfatos publicata et promulgata veras non *ferteri debere*, intelligentes eorum honorem inde augmentare, ſi juſte ſatisfecerint, ac ſi quod minus bene fecerint *in m Commentare*, nec ab aliis Corrigi, ſi *expectent* proceſſus, ſummam et judicium exhæreditationis, vite hæreditatis et bonorum, perſonarum prædictorum, in dicto Parliamento viceſimo ſeptimo die menſis Junii antedicto pro-

* Lennox. of Lennox.

† John earl of Lennox, Robert lord Lyle, Matthew Stuart ſon

‡ i. e. 1489.

mulgat.

mulgat. et publicat. cum omnibus inde ſecutis dependentiis et annexis, matura deliberatione prius habita, Caſſaverunt, irritarunt, et annullarunt, ac nullum et nulla fore decernerunt, ac nullius *unicujus* Roboris, aut momenti, in judicio aut extra, fore deliberarunt et determinarunt. Ac eoſdem Jo. Comitem de L. Ro Do^{m}. L. et M. S. ad honores, famam, hæreditates, terras, dominica, et poſſeſſiones, ac omnia bona ſua mobilia, cum reſtitutione in integrum, ſecundum formam et effectum Cartarum et evidentiarum ſuarum, eis et predeceſſoribus ſuis deſuper Confectarum, reſtitui ſtatuerint. Prout prefatus S. D. N. Rex, cum conſenſu et aviſamento trium Regni ſui ſtatuum antedictorum, præmiſſa caſſat, irritat, et annullat, decernit, deliberat, et determinat; et eoſdem ut premittitur de præſente reſtituit, ac ex certa ſcientia annullat omnes infeodationes et Conceſſiones, in perpetuum ſeu ad tempus, ac etiam Cartas, Saſinas, et poſſeſſiones de terris predictorum Jo. R. et M. cuicunque perſonæ, ſeu quibuſcunque perſonis, ratione prædict. proceſſus forisfatture per S. D. N. Regem fact. et donat. Et præterea dict. Rex. ex ſua ſpeciali et divina Clementia, nec non reven. fidelia et grata ſervitia per prædictos J. R. & M. ſuis progenitoribus et Majeſtati preſtita, rancorem animi ſui . . . . . Regiam, et omnem actionem quæ et quas ergo ipſos Conceſſit, habuit, ſeu habere poterit, occaſione Criminis leſe Majeſtatis, proditoriæ traditionis, tranſgreſſionum et aliorum Criminum, contra quorumcunqz, per ipſos prout præfatur S. D. N. aliquibus temporibus retroactis quibuſcunque Commiſſorum ſeu perpetratorum, eiſdem remiſit. Et ad majorem evidentiam et ſecuritatem præmiſſorum, idem S. D. N. Rex pro tribunali ſeden. cum diademate in Capite, et Sceptrum in manu gerens, præfatum proceſſum, ſententiam, et Judicium forisfaituræ, dictor. J. R. & M. per os Joannis Dempſtar promulgat. Caſſavit et annullavit prout ſequitur *.

* Follows in the Copy, whence this is taken, the declaration of the King, pronounced by J. Dempſtar, agreeable to the act in the Scotiſh language, 5 Feb. 1490. The King's Seal, with thoſe of the Prelates, Barons, &c. are affixed: and the whole is marked as extracted from the Book of the Acts of Parliament by R. M. Dean of Glaſgow, Clerk of Regiſter, &c.

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